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UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

Analysis of School Knowledge in South Korean Textbooks (1965-1991)

By

HEESOON NAM

©

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

IN

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA
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TO

MY PARENTS
WHO TAUGHT ME MORE THAN SCHOOLS EVER DID,
WHO INSPIRED MY LIFE WITH COURAGE AND FAITH, AND
WHO SHARED MY DREAM

ABSTRACT

This study analyzes the content of school textbooks and the resulting implications for Korean education in a broader social context. Based on the assumption that school textbooks are the major, but not exclusive source of knowledge transmission in Korean society, this study analyzes the dominant frame of school knowledge from its selective tradition and explores possible alternatives for education in South Korean society.

In Chapter two, the conceptual frameworks relating to the inquiry into knowledge formation and its relationship to schooling are drawn from the liberal, phenomenological, neo-Marxist and critical perspectives. In order to contextualize schooling within this broader context, the paradigms of development are utilized for the examination of the case study of Korean development.

In the third chapter, a review of the method of content analysis and a detailed description about the data collection process are made. Sample textbooks were chosen from the middle school level of social studies and moral education from the period of 1965 to 1991, totalling thirteen textbooks in all.

In the fourth chapter, the concrete interpretation of the content concerning the economic sphere focuses on seven categories of value orientation; type of economy, rural development, industrialization, foreign economic relations, role of the state, and the environment and development. The fifth chapter analyses the textbook content covering the social-cultural sphere, categorized according to traditional/modern culture, agencies of socialization, inequality of class, gender, region and ethnicity. In the sixth chapter, the interpretation of material on the political sphere focuses on the types of political system, role of citizen and leaders, national security, images of North Korea and human rights issues.

Although findings indicate that the textbooks play an active role in reproducing the dominant ideology, there are also contradictions which indicate that textbook knowledge is incoherent and not simply mechanistic. In addition, the language forms receive a special attention in the findings. Yet, in terms of modes of reasoning, the textbook language was found to be an obstruction to critical thinking.

The last section includes findings, discussion of the issues and the theoretical implications of this study as well as recommendations for further research.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Raymond Williams reminds us that the significant characteristic of education is selectivity; that is, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, and certain meanings and practices are neglected or excluded from within a whole range of possibilities (Williams, 1973). Since we construct educational institutions, the question of what is to be selected as appropriate school knowledge must be an area of inquiry.

The orthodox view of school knowledge was influenced by the tradition of Anglo-Saxon Positivism, which treated knowledge as 'truth' - as absolute and universal. This assumption of knowledge as context-free, objective has been actualized in educational practice. The question of what type of knowledge is transmitted by schools has not been asked; rather, it has been a question of how a certain knowledge can be achieved with rigor. Therefore, the nature and content of curriculum has rarely been explored, but instead has been preserved as fixed and taken-for-granted.

In contrast to this dogmatic view of knowledge, the 'New Sociology of Education' rests upon the phenomenological approach arguing that education is involved in actively constructing 'sets of meanings' between teachers and pupils as opposed to neutrally transmitting knowledge. Hence, it concludes that what counts as knowledge in schools is not given, but socially constructed. The social definition of the scope and stratification of school knowledge is clearly constructed in curriculum in terms of what is counted as valid knowledge and how such knowledge is organized. However, this social construction model of educational knowledge does not succeed in explaining clearly the larger 'social' context, other than giving a limited analysis of classroom studies.

A common problem obvious in both perspectives, then, is that the major thrust in the question of educational knowledge has centered around the *nature* of knowledge itself, rather than its *role*.

This defect has been addressed by a political and economic analysis of education that attempts to seriously analyze the role of school knowledge within the social context. This neo-Marxist attempt to unveil the functioning of schooling makes a departure from its predecessors who narrowly dealt with the school knowledge, regardless of its social backdrop. In examining schooling within its capitalistic context, the educational system is analyzed as a function which enables capital to accumulate and to dominate the social relations of production. Theorists such as Bowles and Gintis have formulated the "correspondence" principle to explain the reproduction of political, economic and social relationships through schooling. However, the debate over Bowles and Gintis' analysis has in turn led to a less mechanistic understanding of the production and distribution of knowledge through the educational system.

In order to fill the gaps within the overly structuralist political-economic approach, critical theorists such as Giroux, Apple and Freire have revealed the cultural sphere as an important realm of school knowledge. This cultural site of schools serves to resist the oppressive nature of objective knowledge and thereby empower the student.

As shown, the exploration of the theories reveals the 'selective tradition' of school knowledge. The attention given to each theory is limited. A more comprehensive and holistic way of examining each sphere in relation to the others is required. 'Critical' here does not imply the romantic resistance theorists who elucidate the cultural site of school knowledge. The combination of the unselected spheres from the reproduction theory of the Neo-Marxist approach and resistance theory of the Critical approach can bring together the whole sphere of school knowledge - the economic, the political and the cultural sphere.

I intend to analyze the whole domain of school knowledge and move beyond work done in the research tradition of school knowledge studies, especially within the textbooks. In analyzing school knowledge, this study will undertake a critical examination of South Korean school textbooks.

More important than the fact that the author comes from South Korea, the fact that South Korean texts are controlled by the Ministry of Education are closely followed in the classroom and have been revised with each change in regime.

It is important to understand Korea's recent history in order to understand the context of Korean textbook development. Korea was divided as a result of a purely ideological battle after World War II. South Korea became a liberal-democratic and capitalist country, while the North became a communist regime. After the Korean War (1950-53), South Korea, a country strategically placed between the communist world and the free world, allowed a close linkage with the U.S. in order to defend the security of the region at the height of the Cold war . In the national context, Korea evolved politically from a civilian government in the sixties, to an authoritarian military regime from 1963 to 1987, to a 'semi-authoritarian' regime from 1988 to 1992, and finally to a democratic government in 1993 (Cha, 1993).

Economically, South Korea has risen from a war-torn country with a poverty-stricken economy into an industrialized nation. In the last three decades from 1960 to 1990, the GNP increased more than 100 times and the per capita GNP increased about 70 times: in

1960, the GNP was two billion dollars US and per capital GNP was 80 dollars US (Song, 1990:60, Britannica World Data 1993). After thirty years, the country has been internationally recognized as one of four dragons in the 'Newly Industrializing Countries' (NICs).

Culturally, as implied in the nickname of dragon, Korea has been under the influence of China, and especially Confucianism, over the past five hundred years. Demographically, the country is a homogeneous nation in terms of its ethnic composition. The country has also been exposed to Western influence, primarily that of the United States.

Amidst these tremendous political, economic and cultural changes, education has been instrumental in rebuilding the nation by promoting and changing the country and its people. From this dynamic context of politics, economies and culture, I will investigate the role that school textbooks have played and are playing in education's contribution to national development in Korea over the last three decades. The research problem will be defined in terms of the following question: Is there a clear linkage between textbook content and the societal paradigm of development in Korea? If so, what kinds of knowledge and assumptions were selected for emphasis or exclusion from textbooks.

Research Questions

This study seeks, therefore, to critically examine the selection of educational knowledge through the agency of school textbooks in Korea. By doing an in-depth and qualitative analysis of the content of social studies and moral education textbooks used in Korean middle (junior high) schools from 1965 to 1991, it will be possible to evaluate the nature of such school knowledge and its linkage to the wider context of societal development in South Korea. The question is: how does the selection of school knowledge, as exemplified in terms of textbook content, reflect South Korean society?

More specifically, a critical content analysis of Korean textbooks will examine the paradigmatic emphasis or orientation of the ideas and information presented in the texts. Do they help Korean students understand the path of national development in a way which allows them to question the assumptions and consequences of the dominant paradigm, and consider possible alternatives to that paradigm? Or do they eventually reinforce the logic of growth and the capitalist underpinnings of the modernization paradigm? Do the textbooks promote a critical interpretation of political structures and relationships, or do they legitimate the authoritarian status quo? Are issues of social inequalities, environmental degradation and human rights considered in a reflective and empowering way through the textbooks?

As a result of the above inquiry, the study will provide answers to the following research questions;

1. What assumptions, value-orientations, conceptual and empirical knowledge, and strategies for societal, personal and inter-personal practice are promoted by the textbooks in terms of paradigms of national development?
2. What type of political system is emphasized as legitimate and desirable for Korean society? What citizenship role is implied for the students?
3. What images of North Korea are presented in the textbooks? What are their overt and hidden ideological themes?
4. How do the textbooks portray and legitimate the role of school and other social/ cultural institutions in Korean society?
5. Are there any representations of social inequality in terms of social class, gender, geographical region and ethnicity? What implications do these hold for the social consciousness of the students?
6. How is the interaction between the different (i.e. Oriental/Western) cultures presented? What does this say about the role of textbooks as mediators of cultural knowledge in a society subject to intensive forces of modernization?

These questions provide relevant and important evaluation criteria for the proposed content analysis of the textbooks.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to comprehensively analyze school knowledge in the political, economic and social-cultural domains . This will be done by analyzing school textbooks which have been used in South Korean schools over the past thirty years since the Korean War. The textbooks will be used to focus analysis upon the content of knowledge transmitted and thereby reveal the nature and role of school knowledge. On the basis of the findings from the analysis of selected textbooks, this study will explore an alternative direction for Korean education that will hopefully be a constructive to the function of education in South Korea.

Significance of Study

This study will go beyond the limitation of a political economic perspective on schooling, which is the major tradition of textbook analysis, by including a social-cultural sphere. This addition will provide a unique opportunity to witness the cultural interaction between East and West. In locating this study against the backdrop of a South Korean historical dimension, the problems of ahistorical research will be overcome. Moreover, the research outcome will provide an explanatory basis for the question of the 'relative autonomy' of education within the academic field of sociology of education. Finally, we as educators will be provided with a moment to reflect upon the inevitable accountability that arises from our educational 'act' of teaching students.

Limitations of the Study

Utilizing an analysis of textbook knowledge, this study will use an interpretive form in an attempt to reveal the underlying assumptions of the literary meaning of textbooks. There is no specific theoretical hypothesis to verify, nor a set of criterion to meet in order to generalize the findings. As I am skeptical of the idea of a value-free science, I will not attempt to seek an objectivity that is deemed desirable in quantitative studies. The beauty of qualitative interpretation is not the production of a static meaning, but the process, which is continuous and which allows the interpreter and the message to encounter each other not only once but whenever more understanding is required.

Another limitation in carrying out this study in the requirement of translating of Korean textbook content into English; I would take all responsibility in the process. As a person who learned English as a second language, the quality of translation is dependent not only upon how I translate the content into English but also upon the way I understand the text in Korean.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In order to critically analyze the knowledge and ideology found in Korean textbooks which influences the production and distribution of knowledge, the debate about knowledge and ideology will be examined. This chapter will review the theoretical implications of the sociology of knowledge for this study. In addition, theories of development will be examined in order to search for relevant explanations of Korean development. The process will yield a conceptual framework for the analysis of school knowledge and a social backdrop for contextualizing the claim of knowledge.

1. Knowledge and Schooling

The question of what schools teach is found in the search for the nature of school knowledge. Knowledge is inextricably related to the social context. The theoretical underpinning to this social analysis of school knowledge is provided by the sociology of knowledge (Young, 1971:3, Wexler, 1982:277).

Sociology of Knowledge

The foundations of the sociology of knowledge can be traced back to the origin of human consciousness which has concerned itself with the pursuit of pure knowledge and which is closely interwoven with the development of the concept of ideology. Destutt de Tracy, author of the term ideology, defined it as systematizing a new 'science of idea', in order to sanction a concept of science based upon observations and free from prejudices (Giddens, 1979:165, Boudon, 1989:25).

As impediments to valid knowledge, Bacon pointed out various false notions and methods, that is, idols, which have taken possession of our minds; they are deeply rooted and strongly resist our efforts to study nature impartially (Frank, 1982: 806). He believed that a new scientific approach was needed to enable us to uncover idols or false notions and that inductive generalization could be the philosophical foundation of all knowledge. The Enlightenment thinkers advocated that knowledge is to be discovered by the methodology of empirical science, departing from the belief of a mystical method of acquiring knowledge by revelation. Therefore, the combination of reason and observation is a facility for the acquisition of truth, and science is an independent force which produces indisputable truth about reality.

Given the independence of invariable natural law, French positivists stressed that the capacity of imagination and metaphysical speculation is opposed to the knowledge of reality. In a similar vein, German idealism continued the critique of religion, where it was identified as an authoritarian and dogmatic system. Like the French Enlightenment philosophers, German idealists placed human reason at the center of existence and asserted that the human mind can attain absolute knowledge, as revealed in the "Absolute Spirt" of history.

Whereas the above trends owe their claim of knowledge to the Christendom of the Middle ages, Marx's concept of ideology was based upon a totally different context, i.e. capitalism. Revealing that human consciousness is heavily dependent upon the real economic power structure of society, Marx (1960:39) believed that the ruling ideas of any epoch, therefore, are the ideas of the ruling class. The prevalent ethos at any given time is one which provides legitimation of the interests of the dominant class. The assumption that the consciousness of the working class is predominantly ruled by the bourgeois class generated a pejorative implication in the concept of ideology. Marx's concept of ideology, which is generally understood to be in the interests of dominant class and in the imagery of the "camera obscura"(Marx, 1960) has become contentious (Giddens, 1979; Sarup, 1983). Along with the illusory image of ideology, it has been used in a different and even contradictory sense, stemming from Lukacs, Gramsci, Althusser and others (Geuss: 1981 quoted from Eagleton, 1991:40).

In a descriptive sense, ideologies are belief-systems characteristic of certain social groups or classes, composed of both discursive and non-discursive elements. This politically innocuous definition of ideology comes close to the notion of a 'world view', in the sense of a relatively well-systematized set of categories that provide a 'frame' for the beliefs, perceptions and conduct of a body of individuals (Eagleton,1991:43). The work of Lukacs is clearly associated with the view that ideology becomes a partial class view. Lukacs argues that our knowledge depends upon our historical situation and adequate knowledge is a knowledge of a whole rather than of different part (Craib, 1984). He believed that what obstructs us from grasping this totality is the reification resulting from the structure of capitalism.

Finally, positively speaking, the term 'ideology' applies to a set of beliefs which coheres and inspires a specific group or class who are in the pursuit of political interests judged to be desirable. This is the theme of Althusser's work, where he views ideology as ideas importantly shaped by an underlying motivation, and functional in achieving certain goals. Ideology is a functional requirement of society which constitutes the subject.

Ideology, then, is a structural feature of any society; its function is the cementing of its unity (Sarup, 1983:10). Although Gramsci captures the concept of ideology in more complex dimensions than the epiphenomena of economy, his view is similar to the Althusser's in a sense that ideology serves as a cement for society and is a practice producing subject (Mouffe, 1979:179-199).

Despite differing views within the Marxist tradition, there is generally a consensus that the principal nature of ideology is its capacity as a form of domination (Thompson, 1984, Giddens, 1979). In addition, the frame of analysis for ideology is the social structure, i.e., the mode of production, which shapes the human consciousness.

In contrast to the structural explanation of human consciousness through the concept of ideology, there is another tradition which explains knowledge formation in terms of the reconciliation of the subjective and objective definition of social reality. By bracketting off all the determining presuppositions on human knowledge, phenomenologists such as Schutz argue that knowledge is the world of everyday life.

> This stock of knowledge (including knowledge but also the beliefs, expectations, rules, and biases by which we interpret the world) at hand is formed by both our personal experiences and the socially performed knowledge that we inherit; in the course of our experience, it is constantly being tested, refined, and modified (Bernstein, 1985:146).

It is important to note that an individual being is the constitutive agent of knowledge and makes meaning out of it on a continual basis. Whereas Schutz's definition of knowledge is narrowed down to the subjective dimension, Berger and Luckmann (1966) reconciles the subjective and objective definition on knowledge (Craib, 1984:89). They (1966) identify ideology as a particular definition of reality which comes to be attached to a concrete power interest. They regard ideology as the legitimation of a definition of reality which becomes the definition of reality. By explaining legitimation as the origin and maintenance of a symbolic universe, they imply that the concept of power supersedes any particular definition. Assuming that all aspects of society equally participate in the constitution of 'our' meaning and definition of knowledge, this interpretive tradition illustrates the multi-faceted nature of knowledge formation.

'Critical theory' in sociological analysis has also yielded useful insights for understanding the nature and role of knowledge. Critical theorists have developed a dialectical framework with which to understand the mediation that links the institution and activities of everyday life, that is, capitalism, motivation and/or need. Designating the realm of culture as the foremost site of domination, they point out the importance of critical thinking in disclosing the form of irrationality and domination embedded in 'modern' culture (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1972). As a result of their critique of the instrumental rationality and authoritarianism of modern culture, they generated the fundamental social inquiry which constitutes a source of emancipation, as exemplified in Habermas' concept of emancipatory practice (McCarthy, 1978).

According to Habermas, knowledge needs to be examined in terms of its underlying interests, which can be categorized as technical, practical and emancipatory. In contrast to a critical-emancipatory paradigm, the other more practical kinds of interests are legitimized in this theory by selective emphasis and evaluation of what constitutes "objective" and "valid" knowledge. Knowledge therefore must always be subject to a narrative critique which exposes values, ethics, beliefs and human interests. Especially when the knowledge field concerned deals with issues and themes of societal "development" as will be the case in this study, a critical-theoretical paradigm can reveal how particular "development" goals (eg. growth, industrialization) may reflect and serve the interests of ruling elites rather than authentic societal interests.

Another school of theorizing which has implications for the sociology of knowledge is semiotics. Inspired by the European linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (1959), semiotics maintains that in the system of signs which constitutes language, convention determines the relationship between a given sound and the mental image it evokes. Hence, Latimer (1989:2) argues that "reality comes to man via the self-referential sign/language system hence the world we see is organized by the language we speak.

> In contemporary expressions of 'knowledge' whether through texts, pictorial images, or electronic media (eg. film, television), this semiosis results in the creation, reproduction and transmission of realities represented by signs that represents not the 'facts' or the face-value of the objects under scrutiny. Rather, new meanings, and codes have been produced and these often assume the character of myths (Barthes, 1972).

Literary or visual texts need to be critically read below their surface and demystified for their hidden meaning and agendas (Hawkes, 1977). The value of semiotic thinking to a critical sociology of knowledge is argued below:

> And a critical semiotics can be engaged politically and culturally in disclosing the sources of mystification, power and domination in the social production and consumption of meaning. When directed to these purposes, it also might broaden the analytical perspective of critical theory in the social context of generating and interpreting knowledge (Luke, 1991:21).

Last but not least, much interest has been stimulated by thinkers in the field broadly referred to as post-modernism. While a wide range of theoretical emphases are encompassed by this descriptor, some major common themes can now be discerned in the "post-modernist" critique of the dominant paradigms of knowledge. These include a rejection of totalizing and universalist meta-narratives of truth and Enlightenment reasoning; a corresponding preference for multiple discourses of understanding and legitimation of a politics of difference; and a levelling of cultural hierarchies (Ross,1988; Nandy, 1982; McLaren, 1991; Luke,1992). Furthermore, as Giroux (1991:24-5), whose neo-Marxist orientation has now been infused by postmodernist and post-colonial perspectives, usefully notes, postmodernism

> "has offered a painful challenge to the hegemonic notion that Eurocentric culture is superior to other cultures and traditions by virtue of the canonical status as a universal measure of Western civilization . . . (It has also assisted) those deemed as "other" to reclaim their own histories and voices. By problematizing the dominant notion of the paradigm, postmodernism has developed a power-senstive discourse that helps subordinated and excluded groups to make sense out of their social worlds and histories while simultaneously offering new opportunities to provide political and cultural vocabularies - - to define and shape their individual and collective identities"

Likewise, as Dews (1987) argues, the critique of postmodernism includes not only technology and development but a mode of thinking that equates change with progress. Post-modern resistance redraws the boundaries of modernism to bring the voice of others into a post-colonial world marked by disintegration.

In sum, a critical analysis of knowledge production, distribution and interpretation will be enriched by a sensitive and appropriate application of postmodernist and postcolonial theories. Indeed, when the knowledge involved holds significant implications for the cultural boundaries of a society, postmodernism provides a penetrating vehicle for understanding the changing shape of those boundaries.

To this point, a historical review of the theories of knowledge and ideology has enabled us to trace the sources which shape our consciousness. As can be seen in the rise and fall of each different perspective, questions in one perspective are not always answered or dealt with in other perspectives. It can be said that the trajectories of the human search for knowledge represent only a partial treatment on which knowledge can be founded. Having examined the tradition of the sociology of knowledge, an inquiry into the sociology of school knowledge is now pertinent.

Sociology of School Knowledge

As in the sociology of knowledge, the concept of ideology plays a crucial role in constructing the sociology of school knowledge, primarily because the nature of knowledge is unveiled via the neo-Marxist theorists' explanation provided by Bowles and Gintis, Bourdieu, Bernstein and Anyon. Before expounding on the neo-Marxist perspective, the liberal view on schooling and knowledge will be reviewed.

As education is believed to perfect the mind by giving it knowledge (Hirst, 1974:40), liberal educators regard school knowledge as worthwhile, abstract, nonnegotiable, and above all, value-free (Sarup, 1978). Due to this epistemological positivism (Steedman, 1988), liberal educators imply an asymmetrical and fixed relationship between the teacher and the student, where the pupil is seen in a deficit light (the "banking model", in Freirean terms). The teacher has a corpus of knowledge to be transmitted, and the pupil needs to be "filled up" with this worth-while knowledge. From the perspective of objective knowledge, any failure in achievement results indicates a deficit in the student's capabilities; a common case of blaming the victim. Based on what Giroux (1983a) terms as technical rationality, which assumes the student to be a passive consumer of value-free knowledge, the liberal concept of differential achievement constructs a negative image of 'the other' as 'deficient'. In this framework, the hallmarks of knowledge and theoretical inquiry become steeped in a notion of objectivity, one that measures the strength of its meaning against the degree to which it is objectively evaluated.

Based on this ideology of 'need-fulfilment', the practice of schooling is considered to be that of academic enlightenment and literacy. The social function of knowledge is seen to be fundamental in guiding students' socialization into their future role in society (Parsons, 1959). Linked to functionalism, the liberalists regard education as the "great equalizer", enabling the disadvantaged and dispossessed to attain individual development, social mobility and political and economic power (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985). Because education and the attainment of knowledge are taken for granted as worth-while activities, liberal educators rarely question the content of the curriculum (Sarup, 1978). The unveiling of the ideological assumption that school knowledge is value-free, is achieved by the neo-Marxist theorists and the new Sociology of Education. These two perspectives are similar in the sense that they demystify the absolute and objective nature of knowledge within the liberal theories. However, these perspectives are divided in their analysis of the agents important to the process of knowledge formation.

Grounded upon phenomenological sociology, the new Sociology of Education theories inquire into "what counts as educational knowledge" (Young, 1971), by bracketing the pre-given, taken-for-granted social world. Raising questions about the objective nature of knowledge, Young and other interpretive sociologists (Berger and Luckmann, 1966; Keddie, 1971; Eggleston, 1977) focus on the social origin, selection and organization of school knowledge and its meaning to the students' social construction of reality. The construction of meaning is not a pre-given, but is continuously created by students as they interact in the classroom. Thus, if the idea of knowledge were claimed, these theorists would locate it amidst the intersubjective negotiations in the interaction process within the educational setting. On the analysis of knowledge by the new Sociology of Education, Giroux and Pennar (1973) argue:

> By focusing exclusively on the micro-level of schooling, on studies of classroom interaction, the new sociology falls short of illustrating how socio-political arrangements influence and constrain individual and collective efforts to construct knowledge and meaning.

The rise of neo-Marxist theories of education are in response to the shortcomings of the New Sociologists. While the New Sociologists locate their analysis of knowledge at the micro level of the educational setting, the neo-Marxist reproduction theorists focus on the wider social world, but more specifically, on the capitalist setting. Rejecting the value-neutral knowledge claims of liberal theorists, reproduction theorists view the school as "an agent" of ideological control which functions to reproduce and to maintain dominant consciousness, dispositions, and values" (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Through a structural correspondence between the educational and economic systems, reproduction theorists classify the reproductive function of school in three different spheres; 1) economic, 2) cultural, and 3) political[1] (Apple, 1993, Apple and Weis, 1986; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985; Kellner, 1978). In emphasizing the structural correspondence between the production and the educational systems (Bowles and Gintis, 1976), the economic reproduction model proponents utilize the nature and meaning of the hidden curriculum (Apple, 1979) to explain what is considered as 'high' and 'low' (intellectual and manual) knowledge. Focusing mainly on the 'structural' relationship between schools and workplace, the economic reproduction model does not succeed in illuminating what is taught in the curriculum. Questions about knowledge are completely ignored (Giroux and Penna, 1979: 26; Sarup, 1978).

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[1] The political sphere is termed the hegemonic sphere by Aronowitz and Giroux (1985), and as the state sphere by Carnoy (1983, 84) as influenced by Gramsci.

The economic sphere is not the only site where the reproductive function of schooling is confined. Theorists such as Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) advocate that schooling reproduces the dominant "cultural capital";

> In the field of education, for example, symbolic violence operates not so much by the teacher speaking 'ideologically' to the student, but by the teacher being perceived as in possession of an amount of 'cultural capital' which the student needs to acquire. The educational system thus contributes to reproducing the dominant social order not so much by the viewpoints it fosters, but by this regulated distribution of cultural capital (Eagleton, 1991:158-9).

Like Bourdieu, Bernstein (1971a) analyzed the process of cultural reproduction and its relations to class differentiation through the concept of classification and framing. Different control codes in education function to legitimate, preserve and distribute the knowledge by society's cultural apparatus. The main idea of cultural reproduction is delineated as follows.

> Just as economic capital is distributed more readily to those who already have it, so too the cultural capital taken from and distributed in schools to those whose class already "owns" it (. . .). Thus, the problem does not lie in the cultural attributes of children, but in the limited responsiveness of our economic and education institutions (Apple and Wexler, 1978).

Due to the heavy emphasis on how the school transmits a dominant class culture, the cultural reproduction theorist ignore the in-depth analysis of the nature and function of curriculum and knowledge (Giroux, 1981a:75), which they identify with the dominant class culture.

Whereas the above two reproduction models are based on a mechanical relationship between school and society, the political reproduction model assumes a more dynamic relationship between the state and school in its function. Within the structuralist Marxist model, the political reproduction theorists view the state as an extension of the dominant apparatus; namely, as part of the system developed by the bourgeoisie to perpetuate and expand their control over society (Carnoy, 1984). Thus, the pedagogical and political transformative process consists of a more dynamic principle, i. e. hegemony (Gramsci, 1971), rather than a fixed concept of ideology, in order to successfully produce active subjects towards bourgeois hegemony (Mouffe, 1979). In order to bring about continuous consensus, education transmitts the dominant ideology of the state through the ideological state apparatus (Gramsci, 1971). Schools, thereby, produce allied classes and ensure their active participation in social integration. On this point, Apple (1982) states that,

> schools are sites where ideological subjects are partially formed and as places are constantly undergoing transformations based on changes in both the control of labor and the commodification process.

In the realm of political reproduction, Apple (1990) stresses that the role of schooling is fundamentally oriented to guide our perceptions favorably towards harmonious order and legitimation of the status quo in order to downplay the presence of social conflict. Knowledge and schooling, within the reproduction perspective, are reflected as an 'epiphenomena' of the dominant social class.

Whereas the neo-Marxist analysis is confined to the economic sphere as a backdrop of schooling, recent critical theorists, such as, Apple, Giroux, and Wexler have broadened their horizon to include the fundamental form of control in education, i.e., the logic of rationality. In the dominant curriculum model, knowledge is primarily treated as a realm of 'objective facts'. It is seen as a thing divorced from human meaning and intersubjective construction. Once the subjective dimension of knowledge is lost, however, the purpose of knowledge becomes one of accumulation and categorization, which actually represents a domination of the subject (Giroux, 1979).

In placing the student at the center of the knowledge-shaping process, resistance theorists recapture culture as the site of emancipatory practice in education (Giroux, 1983). Criticizing the radical view on schooling as academicized, the resistance theorists stress that education should be seen as the terrain of struggle and political empowerment (Giroux and McLaren, 1989). Bringing together all 'critical' insights, ranging from semiotics and the Frankfurt school to post-structuralist theory, it is not difficult to identify the idealistic nature of some theories which take an academic pilgrimage, merely preaching the word of critical pedagogy.

In brief, I have examined how school knowledge has been defined from different theoretical assumptions. Despite the flaws inherent in the aforementioned theories, these different approaches to school knowledge have provided a useful frame of reference for the current study of textbook knowledge. In the following section, a review of research studies on school textbooks will also provide helpful synthesis for this investigation.

Review of Textbook Studies

For an understanding of research trends in the field of textbook knowledge, this section will focus mainly on the review of studies done on school textbooks. The review process will proceed within the three spheres in the debate of knowledge and ideology in school textbooks; that is, the political, social-cultural and economic sphere.

Political sphere

Most studies concerning knowledge and ideology on the political sphere can be classified into three types: (1) bi-national studies examine and compare textbooks between two counties, and are often undertaken as joint projects; 2) unilateral studies examine the portrayal of a country in another country's textbook; and (3) internal studies examine texts within a society.

A bi-national study, the study of Canada and United States in 1945, analyzed how events were treated in history and geography textbooks in Canada and the US. In this study comparing two 'free world' nations, the overall conclusion was that for the most part there were no deliberate attempts to distort facts (McDiarmid and Pratt, 1971).

In contrast, another study comparing the US and USSR in 1977 produced clearly ideologically biased portrayals of each society (Parker, 1986). The Soviet textbooks, for example, focused on the negative aspects of American society, such as poverty, unemployment, inflation, crime, social inequality, racism, hedonism, and militarism. In contrast, the American textbooks discredited the political system in the Soviet Union and the role of the Marxist-Leninist ideology, and undercut the real achievements of the first socialist state in the world. Methodologically, the problems in textbooks were discussed under various categories, i.e., ideological bias, inadequate coverage, imbalance of treatment, factual errors, distortion and bias by undue emphasis, omission of important details, and dependence upon out-of-date information (Mehlinger and Rabinowitch, 1981, Hutton and Mehlinger, 1987).

Whereas the above studies were bi-national, the following studies are unilateral. Carson's (1989) study of Cold War ideology in American history found that textbooks depict "the Soviet leadership and/or people generally act irrationally, inconsistently and deceitfully". Further, according to US textbooks "the secretive and overly suspicious Russians were chiefly to blame for the deterioration of relations between the superpowers" (p.49). In effect, the textbook lessons legitimated the superior political leadership of the US and justified its heavy military expenditures. Similarly, other unilateral studies reviewing the image of Australia in American textbooks (Birchall and Faichney, 1985), the USSR in English textbooks (Maw, 1991), Jews in German textbooks (Calvert, 1984), and

South Korea in Canadian textbooks[2] (Kim, 1991) have pointed out bias in the image conveyed of the country portrayed.

In the category of internal studies, a major emphasis of research has been on issues about political legitimation within a country. Apple's (1979a) study of Social Studies found that references to conflict as a social concern or a category of thought were completely lacking in the curriculum. Loyalty to the government and obedience to the law encouraged a view of society that focused on cooperation and consensus and avoided controversy and conflict (Apple, 1979a:95). On the ideological selection of knowledge in textbooks, Cherryholmes (1983) argued that if the subject is politics, topics of discussion may include political party affiliation, voting turnout, party platforms, and political structure, while discussion of social-economic inequality and injustice is excluded.

Stripping off the stereotypical image of mathematics as value-free and apolitical, the study of China's math textbooks from 1969 to 1985 (Kwong,1988) reveals how the ideological message of communism and nationalism in China was defended and US imperialism, and the market economy system was blamed.

Social-Cultural Sphere

As the 'most' important domain of ideological representation in textbooks, the social-cultural sphere has been extensively researched. Within this sphere, the studies are mainly concerned with intercultural and interethnic understanding, including gender relations, in textbooks.

Studies on the treatment of minorities and women in textbooks can be traced back to before World War II. Regarding the studies conducted after the war, McDiarmid and Pratt (1971:24) discovered that:

> In Europe, no research [had] been done on the treatment of racial minorities. In the United States, the treatment of immigrants went virtually unstudied until after the Second World War. In Canada, research has concentrated on four highly visible groups: Americans, French Canadians, English Canadians, and more recently, Indians.

This highly selective research, limited in depicting minority groups in society, began to change in the 1980s. In reviewing various minorities portrayed in American textbooks, a report of the United States Commission on the Civil Rights (1980) is one of the most comprehensive studies ever done. While reviewing most studies dealing with American Indians, blacks, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Island Americans, religious groups, the elderly, women and girls, the report concluded that portrayals of these groups is stereotyped.

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[2] Most international research on the textbooks focused on the content about South Korea depicted in other (16) countries textbooks and were carried out by the Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI, 1992)

In Canada, the most representative study of the minorities was done by McDiarmid and Pratt in 1971, on behalf of the Ontario Human Rights Commission. From the 143 textbooks examined for evidence of bias and prejudice, they concluded that textbooks confused race with ethnicity and nationality, produced a negative portrayal of Indians, a hostile and/or patronizing tone toward the influx of immigrants, cultural imperialism and an image of backwardness in non-Western culture, preference for an English over a French system, and so on. In their concluding remarks, they emphasized that;

> . . . the textbook merely reflects the widespread tendency for groups to seek conformity to their own standards and at the same time to establish their own superiority by finding, and if necessary creating, "outside" groups that fail to conform, even if this means shielding the young from reality (p.107).

Brummelen (1984) traces the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon canon in textbook knowledge. Through the study of British Columbia textbooks in the late 1800's, he points out that the dominant framework for shaping the moral and cultural values of students is founded upon Christianity. In addition to textbooks, the social studies curriculum, which allegedly expresses the multi-cultural curriculum, is also a mono-cultural, ethnocentric curriculum for Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony (Aoki, et al., 1984). According to Pratt (1984:308), in textbooks, "Canada is viewed as a white, Christian, homogeneous, middle-class country where liberal democracy and free enterprise have combined to produce the ideal society".

This eurocentric hegemony is highlighted in the depiction of Canadian native Indians in the study of Alberta curriculum (Decore, et al. 1981). It was shown that textbooks depict Canadian native Indians pejoratively and retain stereotyped images of them through educational material by way of omission, retention of stereotypes, historical and cultural inaccuracy, and the inclusion of biased illustrations.

Generally, cultural conflict is not represented as a serious issue (Pratt, 1984:308), because of text's simplistic depiction of dominant culture. As Raymond Williams (1973) has pervasively argued, a “selective tradition” in the presentation of knowledge enables dominant groups in society to maintain their hegemony and the sustenance of a dominant culture which is perceived as legitimate by most members of the society (Pratt,1986:308).

In the analysis of South African textbooks (Dean, et. al. 1983), it was found that general history covered in the textbook was entirely presented from a white perspective. Little attention was paid to the history of Asia or Latin America in any part of the curriculum and the history of pre-colonial Africa was virtually ignored. The western-oriented perspective was also significant in a Nigerian textbook study done by Okonkwo (1988). Textbooks used to teach English were also ideological tool praising Western culture while degrading the traditional indigenous culture of Nigerian people.

Another important subject in the social-cultural dimension for analysis is gender relations. Although textbook studies regarding gender are voluminous, the findings tend to be reductionist. Analyses of treatment of women are often limited to identifying portrayals of women as inferior, dependent, inaccurate, trivial and domestic. Studies in this vein have been done by Tetreault (1984), Selke (1983) and Hahn and Blankenship (1983) in the US, by Cairns and Inglis (1989) in England, and by Light, et. al., (1989) in Canada.

Economic Sphere

Studies focusing on economic sphere are mainly concerned with content about class relations. In their study of bias and prejudice, McDiarmid and Pratt (1971) found that the textbook presented a middle-class view on society, and depicted labor union movements as either a revolutionary force or a form of violence. In an in-depth analysis of the portrayal of Canadian Working class in textbooks, Osborne (1980) examined history textbooks published in 1886 to 1979. Utilizing a 'subjective critical technique', he emphasized that what is implied or omitted is often more important than what is actually said. Not surprisingly, he found that the textbooks said little about workers and the background of organized labour. He points out that "when textbook do not say much *about* (his italic) working people, they have a good deal to say *to* them " (p.27). When workers did come to the fore, it was often in an adverse situation so that textbooks infused the student with ideal virtues of the working class; that is, perseverance and determination; the importance and rewards of hard work, moderation and restraint, and cheerfulness.

Textbook's role in inculcating the values of capitalist ideology has been observed not only in Canada but in other countries. In their studies of American textbooks, Anyon (1978) and Romanish (1983) reached a similar conclusion to Osborne. Despite the fact that Anyon analyzed history textbook from 1865 to 1917, and Romanish analyzed economic texts before 1978, they reached similar conclusions. Anyon study found that, by supporting the activities of big corporations and blaming the influx of foreign labor as the major cause of low wages for the working class, textbooks legitimated the development of industrial capitalism at the turn of this century. Romanish pointed out that textbooks not only legitimates capitalist ideology but also presents a bias towards this economic system. Textbooks teach that America has a free enterprise system, even though, in fact it is more accurate to say that America has both the characteristics of a free market and a planned economy. In addition, while silent on the issue of the labor movement, the two studies found textbooks contributed to creating the myth of a middle class among the working class.

One distinctive point of Romanish's study is the analysis of the content on environment and its impact on economic growth. Not surprisingly, economics textbooks started the issue, by highlighting that the US sets the highest standards for foreign imports, while at the same time purposefully omitting the fact that domestic industries are not required to meet such standards. In short, the two studies revealed that the textbook constructs a balance within the existing economic system, in the name of progress and reform.

As an example of studies in third world countries, Kaman's (1989) analysis observed a bias in favor of the modernization paradigm, without providing for a critical understanding of the cost of such patterns of development and possible alternatives. Through the study of China's textbooks, Kwong (1985) shows how the 1970's textbook brings contradictory messages about socialism and capitalism, by condemning capitalism on the one hand and then infusing the value of free competition and achievement on the other side.

The relation between knowledge and ideology in textbooks has been examined in three categories; namely, political, social-cultural and economic spheres. From the above review, it is apparent that ideology guides the construction of knowledge in textbooks, thereby yielding a certain ideological function for textbook knowledge. Most importantly, what is highlighted is how ideological research traditions can only conform to a certain ideological content in the textbook; for example, the studies on political sphere during the 'Cold War' era which highlights only the content describing "our side is good, their side is bad". On this tendency, Apple (1979: 85) advocated that we should go beyond this biased research tradition of the textbook studies. From this context, one needs to mention that it is important not to present a unidimensional, deterministic view in the process of analyzing school textbooks. It is necessary to grasp not only the reproduction tendencies but also the complex contradictions (Apple, 1979), because "ideology is not a coherent set of beliefs and is filled with contradictions" (Apple, 1982a). Furthermore, As Carson (1989) observed, textbooks do not speak with even an unidimensional tone.

> The study indicates that while several American history textbook series are strongly ideological and provide little room for alternative interpretations, several other textbook series provide some limited room for students to deconstruct various viewpoints and construct their own.

There is a need to overcome the 'deterministic' focus on textbook analysis so that it can delineate the boundaries of knowledge selection in textbooks in order to point out complex contradictions..

In addition, the above studies are consistantly narrow in their focus. They tend to examine the socio-cultural, political or economic sphere of school knowledge individually rather than examining all three at the same time. Because the analysis has been limited to one sphere, the relationship of ideology to knowledge formation is only partly revealed. Incomplete coverage of the ideological underpinnings in all three spheres cannot succeed in unveiling either the complex interrelationship of the ideological underpinning and/ or the conflicting ideological views evident in the three spheres of knowledge. Above all, because the research tradition is ahistorical, it has not succeeded in illuminating the ever-changing trends in the ideological messages continued in the textbooks. Reflecting upon the above shortcomings in the previous textbook studies, this current study will attempt to overcome these limitations.

In order to understand the societal context of this study, the case of Korean development will be reviewed in the following chapter. Prior to the reviewing Korean development, the next section will outline the paradigms of development in order to provide an analytic scheme with which to investigate the Korean development.

2. Paradigms of Development

This section will review the two competing theoretical paradigms, modernization and dependency, which have been the predominant frameworks for the analysis of the development and/or growth in all countries. After reviewing the paradigms, special attention will be given to explanations relevant to the case of South Korean development.

Modernization Paradigm

As the word, 'modern' implies, the process of modernization presupposes a unilinear progression within societies from traditional to modern. The studies of modernization have attempted to identify the distinctive features of these dichotomous categories. For instance, a traditional society is characterized as ascriptive, with little 'differentiation' of structure (Parsons, 1966) and economically backward. Modern society is characterized as having values oriented toward achievement, a high level of differentiation and industrialization. Eisenstadt (1966:1) explicated modernization as a "process of change toward those types of social, economic, and political systems that have developed in Western Europe and North America". Underdeveloped countries, identified as traditional, are expected to accept a goal of development modelled after advanced countries in order to get rid of their rural, pre-modern 'backwardness'.

Based on the above assumption, the theoretical explanation of the modernization process has been explicated in the following four dimensions: the sociological, the psychological, the economic, and the political.

Regarding the sociological dimension, Parsons, in order to explain the different stages of social development, observed human interaction patterns to determine their degree of modernness. One way to explain the ideal social structure of 'traditional' and 'modern' societies is to observe the forms of orientation to personal interaction found in the concept of the pattern variable. They include Affectivity vs. Affective neutrality: Diffuseness vs. specificity: Universalism vs. particularism: Achievement vs. Ascription: and Self vs. collectivity (Hamilton, 1983). This abstract concept of social role has been used by many functionalists to explain the social change involved in modernization. One of them, Hoselitz (1960), portrays the modern societies having developed affectively neutral, specific and universalistic role performance whereas the role in traditional society is characterized as ascriptive, particularistic and affective.

On the psychological level, factors such as the need for achievement are thought to engender the motivation for development among societies and individuals. McClleland (1964) has emphasized that what promotes modernization is not the external factors such as natural resources, but the inner factors such as a need for achievement (n'Ach). He has argued that the ultimate achievement of development in a society is dependent on the extent that it infuses this value orientation to its members. In a similar context, some researchers such as Inkeles and Smith (1974) and Lerner (1965) have regarded the cognitive openness of "modern man" for adopting new ideas and social diversity as the key process of modernization.

On the economic level, explanations have focused on a more macro factors. Rostow (1962) proposed that all societies pass through five stages of economic growth: the traditional society, pre-condition for take-off, take-off, drive toward maturity and the age of high mass consumption. Assuming that communism is an unsuccessful transition to the highest stage, he has suggested that the political and economic leadership of the U.S. would aid the modernization process in the underdeveloped countries (Larrain, 1989:89).

Thus, financial and technological transfer are considered crucial for the development of the third world countries.

On the political level, Weber (1968) has argued that political authority in a modern society is based on a legal-rational authority, usually residing in bureaucracy whereas political authority in traditional society usually resides in an individual of person (Hamilton, 1983:87-88). From the assumption that the modern leader is an elected leader (Weber, 1968), it is suggested that the political types in developing societies should try to emulate the Western democratic polity established in advanced countries (Almond and Verba, 1963).

In the modernization paradigm, one common theme can be identified; the development of underdeveloped societies will be accomplished by eliminating the features of the traditional society and by adopting that of the modern society. Three themes can be discerned (Toh, 1980). First, there is the "unilinear" assumption that underdeveloped countries (UDCs) ought to and can develop along the same path favored by advanced industrialized countries. Second, underdevelopment is attributed to the lack or insufficient development of certain internal UDC characteristics. And thirdly, the advanced industrialized countries are deemed to fulfill an active role in fostering development.

There are, of course, obvious problems associated with this modernization theory. This paradigm assumes a crude dichotomy between traditional and modern, underscored by ethnocentrism or rather eurocentrism (Bernstein, 1989). Larrain (1989:99) criticized the paradigm's ahistoricity which denies the whole process that class, race and other interests play in the promotion or inhibition of development (Sklair, 1991:29).

While modernization paradigm might explain the rapid growth of the NICs (Newly Industrializing Countries) namely South Korea, Hong Kong[3], Singapore and Taiwan, by pointing out that their growth was caused by "changes in capital, technology, institutions and value systems" (Browett, 1985:794). However, one cannot say that the assumptions can be generalized to other third world countries, as they certainly have not experienced the growth levels of the NICs. The following paradigm is an alternative which explains the impediments to development rather than the facilitation of development, as has been identified in the modernization paradigm.

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[3] The development of the three nation states is not evaluated from the same perspective as that of Hongkong, a city state.

Dependency Paradigm

Whereas the modernization paradigm is characteristic of a 'first' world view of the third world, a significant impetus for the emergence of a critical paradigm on development has come from the 'third' world or southern contexts. The attempt to rethink the development of the third world sprang from neo-Marxist scholars in Latin America. Initially, Baran (1957) pointed to the "development of underdevelopment" in the third world, as a product of Western imperialism. This is contrary to the idea that imperialism promoted the development of the colonies. Another proponent of dependency theory, Frank (1967), added to Baran's idea of imperialism and exploitation and stated the common ground shared among the dependensitas as below.

> economic development and underdevelopment are opposite faces of the same coin . . . Both are the necessary result and contemporary manifestation of contradictions in the world capitalist system . . . They are the product of a single, but dialectically contradictory economic structure and process [whereby] the metropolis expropriates economic surplus from its satellites and appropriates it for economic development (p.9).

The 'theory of underdevelopment' maintains that underdevelopment is indirectly caused by dependency on central economies, and that capitalism appearing in the periphery is unable in itself to promote development (Frank,1969, 1970; Dos Santos,1973). Like Frank, Wallerstein (1974) argued that the capitalist world system has not only resulted in a new global division of labor between the producers of higher and lower ranking goods but also in a growing polarity between them (Janos, 1986:76). Consequently, it engenders the unequal exchange of high priced commodities and cheap labor between the center and the periphery. Development or more accurately modernization becomes possible for some countries but is highly unlikely for others.

With the above theoretical propositions, there have been attempts to empirically investigate the structural causes which hinder the process of development in the third world. Pinto's study of Chile (1962) and Furtardo's study of Latin America (1966) are such examples. They argued that the explanation of underdevelopment in each case should be studied "in relation to internal processes and class struggles not solely in relation to external factors" (Larrain, 1989:147). Along with the idea of case studies, the historico-structural method of Cardoso and Faletto (1979) is worth mentioning. Rejecting the mechanical conception of dependency as externally caused, they emphasized an analysis which takes into account "the historical transformation of structures by conflict, social movements and class struggle" (p. x). The distinction between them and the rest of dependency theorists is the notion of associated-dependent development" (Cardoso, 1973), defined below.

> It is a form of development which is sustained by foreign investment (especially by multinational corporations) in association with internal capital through the import of technology and which cyclically produces, as in any other process of capitalist development, increased wealth and the progress of productive forces but also increased proletarianization, marginalization and poverty (Larrain, 1989:161).

Thus, while emphasizing "the compatibility of the multinational logic of profit maximization with the state logic of capital accumulation in the dependent country", Cardoso reconceptualized the very expropriatory nature of the world system in more flexible terms than the former dependency theorists.

Notwithstanding the above theoretical variations, analysts within the dependency paradigm share a consensus on a wide range of specific development issues. Examples include notion of the power and vested interests of such agencies as transnational corporations, and of governments of advanced industrialized states which have reinforced unequal global economic, financial, political and ecological relationships (Toh,1987; George, 1976).

Several criticisms have been raised about dependency analysis, especially in its earliest formulations. Firstly, the claim that the economic link between the center and the periphery precludes possible development of the latter is a mechanistic and reductionistic explanation. Secondly, in assuming that underdevelopment is a 'logical part of modern capitalism, the theory provides little discussion about social change (Browett, 1982), which seems more crucial than the theoretical explanation of the underdeveloped countries need to get rid of the obstacles toward development. Lastly, the paradigm, can not properly explain the development experience of the NICs. As Browett (1985) argued, "a change of approach is imperative to account for the growth experience of the NICs".

On the other hand, dependency pioneers like Frank and Dos Santos have reworked their analysis to interpret the NIC cases as non-autonomous 'induced' development limited by the interests of the international centers. To them, the cases are just anomalies within their world system approach. In general, the NICs are usually characterized by very low wage labor, balance of payment crises and international indebtedness at the expense of export-led growth. The political costs of growth are authoritarianism, political repression and suppression of human rights (Haggard, 1990:26). Furthermore, as discussed below, particular factors can help to partly account for the growth of NICs, especially in the East Asian region.

These include the colonial role of Japan; the implementation of land reforms; the promotion of indigenous capitalist expansion; the strong role of the state in the process of industrialization; and the assertive management of external capital; a strong sense of cultural homogeneity based on Confucianism, and the geopolitical influence of the Cold-War which led to massive aid from the US to strategically located states such as South Korea and Taiwan. As seen below, these factors play significant roles in the development of South Korea as a modernizing post-colonial nation.

3. South Korean Development

This section will sketch out the characteristics of South Korea in order to provide an understanding of the research context. This process includes an overview of Korea, followed by the detail analysis on the social-cultural change, political and economic development that have occured the period from 1953 to the present.

Korea

Korea, a peninsula located in northeast Asia, projects southward between China and Japan. The geopolitical location of Korea in relation to these powerful neighboring countries has been fundamental in determining its historical development.

The total land area of the Korean peninsula is 222,025 square kilometers, of which 44.7 percent (99,263 square kilometers) comprises the territory of South Korea. The rest of the 222,025, 122,762, square kilometers is North Korea (Britannica, 1993:644-5). About 70 percent of the land mass consists of mountains and uplands.

In 1992, the total population of Korea was approximately 66 million; 43 million in the South and 22 million in the North. Population density approached 440 per square kilometer in the South, and 181 in the North, as compared to 3 in Canada (United Nations, 1992:68).

Historically, Korea has retained one of the most homogeneous societies in the world, with one national language and one ethnic group. The Koreans comprise 99.9% of the population and have the dominant Confucian value system. Religiously, Korea is very diverse with representation of Buddhist, Catholic and Protestant faiths. Until the turn of the century, Korea was an agrarian society with a scarcity of natural resources. However, during the last half of this century, this agrarian society has undergone tremendous changes. This chapter will take a look at the overall picture of change which has occurred along social-cultural, political and economic dimensions.

Social-Cultural Change

This section will review the social-cultural changes that have occured in the period from 1953 (after the Korean War) to the present. Before discussing these changes, it is necessary to understand the cultural heritage of and influences on the Korean people.

Confucianism

It is safe to say that the influence of Confucianism on Koreans is comparable to the influence of Christianity in the West. It permeates their subconscious. The Confucian assumption of man's nature is of one who controls his emotions or interests in order to fulfil, to the letter, a host of exacting social obligations; for example, a man has to obey his father without question and defer to his elders; a woman has to submit not only to the authority of her own parents but also to her husband and later to eldest son when she becomes old. The assumption about society is that it is an extension of the basic family relationships described above. There is a harmonious integration into a collective whole for the purpose of social order. Confucianism is a conservative view due to its heavy emphasis on hierarchy and harmony.

However, when reflecting upon the historical origins of Confucianism, the conservative ideology is a later formation of the original leitmotif (Guisso, 1981); and the following is necessary to understand this. The cosmic order of yin and yang are equal and complementary relationships in order to achieve harmonious relationships, including the five basic human relationships: sovereign-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder and younger, friend and friend. In these relationships, the central doctrine is the virtue of 'jen', associated with loyalty and reciprocity. The transformation of the idea of affection as the human-hearted idea of Confucianism was attempted around 200 B.C. in China. The formulation of Confucianism as a rigid and patriarchical dogma was established as 'neo-Confucianism' around the Sung Dynasty (960 -1280 A.D.) (Kung and Ching, 1989:78). When Confucianism is referred to Korean society today, it actually means neo-Confucianism, which was adopted as the state religion during the five-hundred years of the Yi-dynasty (1392-1910) (Kalton, 1985:89). Due to its heavy emphasis on the hierarchical nature of human relationships, the values of Confucianism embedded in the Korean culture have negative connotations.

The following is an outline of the detailed practices of Confucianism. Following the assumption of the state as the extension of family, the relationship between the sovereign and the people is based on loyalty and hierarchy. Regarding this cultural influence on the political life of South and North Korea, Kihl (1984) explains that both Koreas share similarities in respect to being highly centralized, bureaucratic and elitist. The universal means of governing is moral discipline by reward and punishment (Rubin, 1976: 43). The nature of government is both benevolent as well as authoritative. This nature of Asian leadership, as authoritarian and Confucian eventually facilitated the process of political mobilization for economic development.

The values and ethics of Confucianism emerged as the prime mover for economic growth; these are the so-called 'new-Confucian ethics' (Tu, 1984, quoted in Song, 1990: 50). This ethic stresses a harmonious personal relationships among individuals and places great importance on harmony, co-operation, consensus, and social solidarity among members of an organization. By emphasizing the achievement resulting from collective work, the workplace is regarded and managed as a quasi-family unit, which contributed to maximize worker productivity (Song, 1990:52).

Another important character of Confucianism is its close association with education. Learning is not considered a pleasant process of knowing something, but rather is seen as tedious and difficult process of disciplining oneself (Ivanhoe, 1990:485). Learning in the Confucian tradition means an emphasis on the importance of cultivation over an entire life time, with the willingness to endure that slow process. This spirit of perseverance as a moral disposition is eventually applicable to all spheres of life.

So far, the origin and influence of Confucianism in Korea has been analyzed with regards to its relationship to society generally. Without doubt, it has made a tremendous impact on the transformation of Korean society. However, it is also important to consider the change caused by blending Confucianism with Western culture, which in Korea was primarily identified as American culture.

American Culture

The first exposure of Korean society to Western culture was to American culture. Introduction to American culture occured via the establishment of educational institutions by missionaries at the turn of this century. In addition, it is well known that major innovations, such as democratization, decentralization, and creation of coeducational classes, were initiated by the Americans.

A precise picture of US influence on Korean educational institutions is illustrated by the fact that 82 percent of Korean students who have gone abroad to receive their training have done so in the US (Koo, 1984:21). As a result of their American educational background, the elite in Korea have shaped Korean society and culture in an American-influenced mold. Scalapino and Han (1986:14) capture the blending of the two cultures in Korea as follows.

> Certainly, the Koreans have been exposed to things America represented, for example, democracy, individualism, liberalism, and capitalism; life-styles such as the nuclear-conjugal family and its attendant problems, apartment living, fast foods, blue jeans, and so forth; and to the popular culture of jazz, pop songs, soul and discos. Nonetheless, deep in the Korean mind, and at the base of the social structure, the old, Confucian, authoritarian tradition has lingered on.

Although the above description captures a comprehensive picture of Korean society, there is no longer a distinction between a mindframe based on Confucianism and life style influenced by American culture, because it is impossible to draw a clear line between them.

Social Inequality

Discussion of social inequalities is made by way of the categories of sector, class, gender, and region.

The typical indicator of social inequality arising from development is rural and urban disparity. In 1989, rural sector wages were about half that of the manufacturing sector (ILO, 1991) In addition to monetary rewards, obvious inequality stems from overall inequalities operating in the medical, social, cultural, and educational services. The simple fact that 50% of all health care personnel work in Seoul, leaving only 50% to service the remainder of the country at double the population, is evidence of such inequality (Bunge, 1982:61).

The large, rapid increase in GNP has led to a growing inequality in the distribution of wealth. In 1985, 20% of the South Korean population claimed 45% of the nation's wealth, while the bottom 40% claimed only 6.1% (Shim, 1985).

The society is faced with substantial inequality between two polarized classes as evidenced by the share of sales captured by the chaebol in Korea, which is much higher than in Japan or in any other country (WorldBank, 1987:27). This indicates a lack of a strong middle-income class and small- and medium- size industry . The lack of substantial small and medium industry leads to a vulnerable economy, ill-equipped to adapt to economic fluctuations, which is especially important because of Korea's heavy dependency on the foreign export market.

As in other societies, another dimension of social inequality is gender. Women occupy subordinate positions not only in the home but also on the job. In factories where women comprise about 75% of the workforce (Launius,1984: 9), they are paid 57% of that paid to male workers. It is well known that Korea has the largest wage gap between men and women in the world (Amsden, 1990:13). The overall earning capacity of women is differentiated not by occupation, but by gender. A woman is paid lower, regardless of her sector of work. Further dimensions of gender discrimination and exploitation are inculcated by the oppressive patriarchy and by the Confucian ideology in school and society.

The last dimension of social inequality that will be touched upon here is region. In the process of economic growth, major industrial development was concentrated in the Kyungsang region, adjacent to the Cholla province. Kyungsang is the hometown of all military coup leaders, and the consequent concentration of political assistance to the region has generated tension between Kyungsang and Cholla province. In 1970, per capita income in Kyungsang was 50% higher than that in Cholla (Cho and Breazeale,1991: 596). The partial underlying reason leading to the Kwangju (provincial capital of South Cholla) Uprising in 1980 was a symbolic outcry of the Cholla people against their socially, politically and economically oppressed status. The regime responded with increasing brutality (Richardson, 1980a:8).

Environment

Like many other third world countries, Korea is no exception when it comes to its woeful lack of pollution control. And, unfortunately, foreign investors are attracted for that reason. Principally, American and Japanese companies have taken advantage of this by exporting their highly polluting industries that are illegal in their own countries. Air and water pollution is a chronic problem in Korean cities caused by massive migration into the urban sites.

The shortage of farm labor due to migration has contributed to the excessive use of chemical fertilizers to increase farm productivity. Per hectare consumption of pesticides in Korea is over six times that of the US, and thirteen times above the world average (Bello and Rosenfeld, 1990: 97). Paradoxically, the overuse of chemicals to boost soil fertility actually devastates the acidity of soil and water, fostering the vicious cycle of chemical dependency. The heavy use of fertilizer compounded with an increasing reliance on hired farm labor has further impoverished farmers and aggravated their abandonment of land. The price of economic growth is well-tempered by the environmental destruction.

Education

Education in Korean society is commonly seen as a primary influence on the national economic development plan. As McGinn et. al., (1980) point out, the South Korean approach to education has been based on the notion of human capital. However, this explanation is limited in the sense that the performance of education in society is evaluated from the economic perspective. Departing from the economic viewpoint, it is relevant to discuss the further factors that influence the overall construction of Korean education and its development.

As in other aspects of society, the legacy of Confucianism and the American influence have been a vital force in molding the shape of Korean education. The strong impetus towards modernization, the American influence, will be discussed first. As mentioned earlier, the United States had three main goals for educational reform in Korea; democratization, decentralization, and coeducation (Steinberg, 1986:20; Cho, Lee-jay and K. Breazeale, 1991:583).

Modelled after the liberal democratic ideal, the Korean education system has attempted to realize and expand educational opportunities. Compounded by the manpower demand for economic growth, the need for education has expanded as dramatically as the economic sphere. For example, elementary school student enrollment increased four-fold since 1970. Enrollment at the post-secondary level has doubled from the 1980s to '90s.

Influenced by the US, technical policy planning, efficient implementation and bureaucratic management were introduced to the school environment. The Long Term Education Plan was formulated with the technical assistance of the UNESCO team, consisting mainly of American advisors. The strengthening of the US-dependent knowledge system in Korea has also been based on the introduction of a new educational frame of reference based upon American ideology and technology, and the creation of research institutions based upon the US models.

American influence on the social studies curriculum, as succinctly pointed out below, clearly displays the transfer of knowledge from the "centre" to "periphery" countries (Lee, Jongjag, et. al., 1988: 237)

> The social studies curriculum in Korean elementary and secondary schools, (. . .) was introduced by US experts during the US Military Government in Korea and developed under US influence. The Korean Social Studies Association (KSSA), the major academic community for social studies educators, was formed and developed under the stimulus of US advisors. The leadership in social studies curriculum came from the US-educated Koreans, and the theories promulgated in the social studies curriculum were borrowed from the US.

Even with this American influence, the three goals of educational reform were not realized. Some researchers (Steinberg,1986:20, Cho, Lee-jay and K. Breazeale, 1991:583) argue that the "Korean educational system is more highly centralized than before, values taught are patently undemocratic, and the sexes remain segregated beyond primary school". As a way of explaining this, it is relevant to note the role 'traditional' dispositions have played in the struggle to maintain the cultural inheritance of Confucianism.

As the guiding ideal of Korean education, " Hong Ik In Gan", (Altruistic Being or Devotion to Human Well-Being) connotes the harmonious ideal originated and influenced by Confucian philosophy. The conservative view, implied in the idea of harmonious integration of individuals into a collective whole, tends to emphasize hierarchy and self-control. In the extreme sense, there is no concept of privacy, self-determination, or the rights of the individual (Bunge, 1982:66). As a consequence, the cultural traditions that have penetrated the education system are characterized as follows (Gannon: 1985:5);

1) a respect for, and obedience to elders and superiors;
2) a tendency to adhere to tradition;
3) an unquestioning attitude towards the authority of the teacher and the presented subject matter;
4) the acceptance of a theoretical rather than an applied approach;
5) the acceptance of an emphasis on rote and memory rather than on inquiry and questioning; and
6) a willingness to endure suffering.

The Confucian tradition unduly emphasizes the idea of studying as a long and difficult process. The teacher's status is authoritative and commands absolute respect from student, although this is changing. Due to this cultural influence, the reform to democracy cannot be smoothly achieved. The last attempt to reform co-education was not realized either, due to the conservative views on co-education generated from the 'neo-Puritanic' perspective of Confucianism. As a case in point, half of the junior and senior high schools are sex divided and there are 10 women's universities out of 100 co-ed colleges and universities (Ministry of Education, 1986:88).

It is impossible to talk about the education policy which developed under heavy control by the government, without mentioning the relationship between the people's values and the nation's task. From a cultural tradition which places a high value on learning, the 'extraordinary' zeal for educational achievement among Koreans has alleviated the government responsibility toward spending on education. From the nation's perspective, the government's role is to mobilize people for economic development and modernization. In order to cope with the compounded needs of both individual and national demands, centralized control over educational policy was seen as inevitable. Consequently, the Ministry of Education (MOE) of the central government controls all that is related to education. The ministry, as the highest administrative agency, decides on basic government policies related to education and science, makes national education plans, executes the plans, publishes and approves textbooks, enacts laws relating to education, executes the educational budget, and supervises the Board of Education, all the institutions of higher education, and other national schools.

Under the MOE, there is the Board of Education (BOE), which is the local administrative body in each province. The superintendents of the BOE are appointed by the President, as recommended by the MOE. The Office of Education, as the subordinate to the BOE, is at the bottom in the administrative hierarchy, located in the town or county. These highly centralized and bureaucratic agencies have succeeded in delivering to students nationwide whatever is decided by the central government in Seoul.

Curriculum organization and administration is one of the most important tasks of the MOE. The state (Ministry of Education) is exclusively responsible for the publication and/or authorization of school textbooks for the primary and secondary education levels. The Education Ministry is responsible for supervising textbook compilation and a centralized bureaucratic system monitors the effective teaching of the textbook. The annual schedule of teaching subjects and time allotment for each subject is indicated in the teachers' guidelines and is regulated under the control of the principal. The state's control of educational content culminates in the college entrance examination which focuses on the achievement of the learning objectives in the curriculum. On the excessive control of government in the curriculum and textbook policy, it has been argued that "the government functions of control and approval in relation to writing, compilation and publication should be transferred to a professional organization (KEDI, 1985:147)".

Political Development

This section will discuss the major political changes and resulting developments in South Korea over the forty years, from 1950 to the present. The major political changes are summarized in the following table in chronological order.

Table II-1. Major Changes in Political Leadership of the Republic of Korea.

	1945	Independence from Japanese Colonial Rule
	1946-48	US Military Government
1st Republic	1948-60	Rhee's Government
	1950-53	Korean War
2nd Republic	1960-61	Overturn of Rhee's government by the radical liberals for democracy, crushed by Army coup.
Military Rule	1961-	Military coup d'état by Gen. Park, Chung-Hee
3rd Republic	1963-72	Park's Regime
4th Republic	1972-79	Park's Regime until his Assassination in 1979
Interregnum	1979,	
	(Dec. 6)	Choi elected as President
	(Dec. 12)	Military coup d'état by Gen, Chun, Doo-Hwan.
5th Republic	1980-1988	Chun's Regime
	1988	Seoul Olympics
6th Republic	1988-1992	President Roh, Tae-woo's government
7th Republic	1993-	President Kim, Yong-sam's government

The discussion of political development in South Korea must be made not only in the country's own context, but also in a worldwide context. Otherwise, the depiction of political development in Korea will appear only in negative terms.

In the 1950's, Korea could not have been worse off. After the brutal extraction of resources and labor during forty years of Japanese colonial rule, Korea was left shattered by the Korean War, 1950-1953. The nation was separated into two ideological zones with the democratic South and communist North divided at the 38th parallel.

After the Korean War, the confrontation of the superpowers in the Cold War hightened the strategic importance of South Korea to the United States. The ability to secure the region to constrain Soviet powers was the key element in American policy toward South Korea (Cha, 1986). For South Korea, the relationship with the US was essential not only for deterring North Korean invasion but also for rebuilding the nation after war. The nation had to mobilize itself from this chaotic situation and it did so to some degree. Although the endeavor to build the nation resulted in successful economic growth, the success was not without its human costs. For example, a Korean motto is "economy first, democracy second" as identified by Barone (1983:60). The analysis and understanding of Korean democracy has to be made from this broader context.

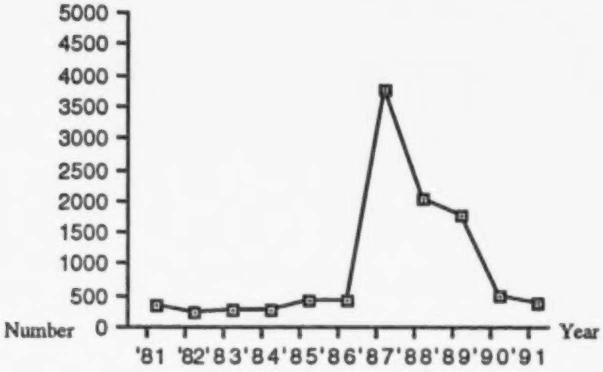
Authoritarian Government

There are a variety of labels ascribed to South Korean political leadership, such as a 'soft authoritarian state' (Walsh, 1993), a 'Confucian hard state' (Lee, K. and H. Lee, 1992), a 'militarist and quasi-facist state', (Cumings,1977) and a 'bureaucratic authoritarian industrializing regime' (Cumings, 1989). Among these different labels, there is one theme that recurs and most accurately captures the common character of South Korea; that is, a strong, centralized state which dominates over the people. Borrowing Cardoso's (1979:38) terminology, Korea is a pact of domination, an alliance or coalition of elites who exercise hegemony over the rest of society. One significant element contributing to this authoritarianism is that the leaders of military coups have ruled for about 30 years, from the sixties to late eighties.

Stepan (1985) identified two forms which legitimate this authoritarianism: offensive and defensive. The offensive projects aim at promoting economic development. In particular, authoritarian leadership focuses on economic policy as a primary means of engendering political support. Negatively, the defensive project aims at protecting society from internal subversion, which are referred to as external threats. The two forms of legitimation are very powerful in the Korean context. The propaganda and justification of the military government has been focused on economic growth, oriented towards export-led development.

Since the South Korean government considered political stability to be integral to growth (Mason, et. al., 1980:50), it was essential to ensure the passive compliance of the workers. In the effort to systematically demobilize labor, the regime constructed three lines of containment: legal, ideological, and repressive (Bello and Rosenfeld, 1990:30). The labor union movements were made illegal because they were considered to be 'anti-government opponents'. Although the Constitution ensures freedom of association, it also empowers the President to control the basic rights of the people, through martial law or national security laws. The repression of the working class was also attempted through ideological manipulation. For example, the creation of collectivism and patriotism, placing a high value on the common goal rather than on individual achievement, was essential for the inculcation of the assembly line mentality. The government's successful efforts in interfering with labor movements are displayed below.

Table II-2. Number of Strikes and Lock-outs (1981-1991)



Source: Yearbook of Labor Statistics 1991. Geneva: International Labor Office.

The above table shows that the government was successful at repressing the strikes and lock-outs of workers until 1986. Then, the labor movement expanded, contracting again in the early 1990's. The attempts of the authoritarian governments to build their political legitimacy on extraordinary economic growth were based on repression, in order to reduce the political instability caused by social dissidence. Authoritarian rule was propagated politically and economically, as a way to divert the people's attention away from their own government.

A powerful rationale utilized in South Korea was the 'threat' from the North. Any political opponent was accused of being anti-state, and therefore pro-communist, and this line became elevated almost to a state religion in Korea (Kang, 1977; Lewis, 1988). Thus, the 'Northern sword of Damocles' was kept dangling above the heads of the South Korean people in just such a highly 'rational' manner so as to keep them in a perpetual state-of-siege mentality, and within a permanent garrison state (Gills, 1987:14).

As Barone mentions (1983), it is difficult to cast South Korea with a 'human' face. Human rights violations in Korea are flagrant and the medium of this violation is both by the pen and physical force.

> These "emergency measures" and "martial law" clauses have been frequently used by the government to suppress the political freedoms and civil liberties of Koreans. For example, during the early 1970's, the Korean government, off and on, resorted to the emergency decrees and martial laws as an effective weapon to prevent the press from criticizing as well as from reporting any criticism of the government. . . The Martial Law Decree banned "all indoor and outdoor demonstrations for the purpose of political activities" and made "speeches, publications, press and broadcasts" subject to censorship (Youm, 1986:877; Choy, 1971:329).

For those unfortunate enough to get incarcerated for revolutionary crimes, there were two possible alternatives; one was 15 years imprisonment by confessing violations of anti-communist law, the other withstanding torture until the last breath. A student, Park, died due to police torture, a practice that was commonly used in South Korea until the late 1980's.

The Draconian policy towards dissenters provided fuel for further resistance. The vicious circle of sword and shields between the regime and its opponents culminated in the Kwangju Uprising, in which 191 people were killed (Cohen and Baker, 1991:193, Clark, 1988). The military regime was faithful in fulfilling their patriotic role of building a government, not a government of the people, at the cost of the people's lives.

Playing up the supposed threat from the North justified an increase in the suppression of the opposition, and a legitimation of the military coup regime. By appropriating the nation's unique situation, the threat of communism, the military regime represented the zenith of authoritarian leadership in the history of South Korea, in structure as well as in content (Palais, 1973:332).

This blatant authoritarian government could not, however, have come into being and could not have survived without the support of the United Sates.

The United States and South Korea

As American involvement in the Korean War revealed, South Korea was essential to US interests in North-East Asia. This strategic importance of South Korea was further confirmed by the deployment of US troops in the Korean War and the signing of the ROK-US Mutual Defense Treaty in 1954 (Baek, 1988). The American support of the Korean government can be exampled from three points of view - military, economic and diplomatic. In order to maintain military superiority in Far East Asia, the US channelled military aid to South Korea, which was far in excess of aid given to any other East Asian country :

Table II-3. U.S. Military and Economic Aid to Selected Human Rights Violators, fiscal Years 1973-78 (current dollars, in millions)

Country	Military aid grant	military sales credits	Total arms sales	Total economic aid	Number of military trainees	F,Y. 1978 Proposed military aid (grants & credits)
Argentina	2.2	134.0	98.6	-	689	15.7
Brazil	3.4	230.7	258.3	93.3	1,062	50.1
Chile	2.5	27.4	146.6	226.7	1,391	-
Ethiopia	53.2	46.0	200.6	111.0	736	12.1
Indonesia	107.9	54.7	91.8	634.2	1,272	58.4
Iran	0.3	-	15,677.3	5.4	-	-
Philippines	124.4	60.0	194.7	383.5	1,460	41.4
S. Korea	**601.1**	**552.4**	**1,333.1**	**487.0**	**2,741**	**280.4**
Thailand	229.4	74.7	220.3	91.4	2,655	40.5
Uruguay	9.0	12.0	16.9	22.8	717	-
Totals	1,133.4	1,191.9	18,238.2	2,055.3	12,723	498.6

Source: Chomsky and Herman (1979:45).

As the above table reveals, through U.S. interests in Southeast Asia have intensified since the Vietnam war in the mid-seventies, South Korea remained the top recipient in economic as well as military aid. US-controlled aid has had a positive effect on the investment climate and an adverse effect on the Korean democratic order and human rights. American economic interests dictated a policy of maintaining an open door for US investment. In Korea, 'favorable conditions' for investment meant suppression and repression.

The Washington connection to Seoul is also deeply related to mutual corruption. In a country such as Korea, where the state has a monopoly on access to US and UN aid and loans, diversion of funds for political purposes is possible with no moral compunction.

The sca[illegible] 'Koreagate', in the late 70's, was the tip of the iceberg. In this case, an America[illegible]gress member was bribed to promote continuing support for the Draconian regime in the Blue House (the South Korean White House).

The role of the US as a world peacekeeper has legitimated the military regimes of President Park (1962-79) and Chun (1980-88). Chun's brutal role in the restoration of order in the Kwangju Uprising of 1980 would have been impossible without the blessing of the US commander of the 'mutual' defense armed forces (Hart-Landsberg, 1989:63; Clark, 1988). Later, the US shifted its political support to the Korean military regime because of fear of the growing anti-US movement among Koreans, who held the U.S. responsible for hindering the cause of democracy in Korea (Han, 1988:60). The United States responded to the rising anti-American sentiment, by introducing American legislation for economic sanctions against South Korea until 'free and fair' elections were held in 1987 (Newsweek, 1987; June). The US policy of 'democratization' in South Korea had a dual objective: to release the growth of popular pressures before they exploded in an unpredictable manner, and to contain the pressures so that the status quo would essentially be preserved to perform their hegemonic role in the region. Since its arrival on the Korean penninsula, the United States has thus played a major role in the division of the peninsula by preserving the status quo throughout the Cold War period, and by maintaining a significant influence in the political transition period of South Korea.

Democratization

In 1987, there were massive protests against the illegitimate government of President Chun, and public support for the amendment to the Constitution in order to reinstate the referendum. The regime's repressive reaction to the demonstrators provided further impetus not only for students and laborers but also for the middle class. During the process of negotiating with the opposition in order to contain the massive, violent demonstrations, the proposal for democratization plan by Roh, Taewoo, the president's former military colleague, was accepted by the government, under the condition of acceptance of the opposition's demands (Han, 1988).

Upon acceptance, the whole nation experienced an opening of the floodgates of discontent. Demands for change to the overall system were made, in areas such as constitutional reform, election procedures, press reform, labor union formation and labor activism (Billet:1990). Reform programs became the major task of the present government, which is the first civilian government to rule in the last three decades. The effort of building a democratic nation, which has the motto 'clean government', is just beginning to catch up with economic development. It is still to early to evaluate the achievement of democratization and reform, but it is clear that the relationship between the government and the people be reconciled.

Economic Development

The economy of South Korea has experienced remarkable growth since the Korean War. Owing to an annual rate of growth of more than 8 percent between 1962 and 1982, the country has changed from a largely agrarian society into a modern industrial one. To understand Korean growth, attention must be given to the background factors which contributed to such growth.

Japanese Colonialism

When the Japanese retreated from Korea on August 15, 1945, domestic industrial production in Korea collapsed. During the period of Japanese colonization, there had been a considerable acceleration in Korean industrial development (Lewis,1988:6), although this was uneven in character because it had been tailored to suit Japanese economic needs.

Korea became primarily a supplier of cheap rice, labor and natural resources, such as timber and mining minerals. Despite the disgraceful subjugation of its sovereignty, occupation provided an opportunity to inherit basic skills for building industrial facilities and primary industries (Cho and Kim, 1991:5). Japanese occupation, then, was regarded as a positive factor in the training of Korean entrepreneurs and the workforce. In addition, the benefits of modernization, such as education, infrastructure and management experience were demonstrated (Mason, et. al 1980; Song, 1990:42). However, the colonial experience of Korea resulted in a unique pattern of economic development; a heavy dependence on Japanese capital through direct investment in Korea, and an uneven trade relationship, characterized by a growing trade deficit with Japan (Long, 1977; Song, 1990:217).

Land Reforms and the Rural Sector

Unlike many other third world countries, Korea underwent successful land reforms (Frank, et. al. 1975). The reforms of 1947 and 1949, mainly initiated by the American military government, contributed to equalization in the society (Bunge, 1982:242), and resulted in the collapse of the feudal, Asiatic mode of production (Anderson, 1974) and the landlord class, which were major obstacles in the process of industrialization.

Although a fairer distribution of land contributed to the efficient use of land and labor, it eventually resulted in the devastation of this economic sector from a broader perspective. The redistribution created a vast mass of small land holding (no more than three hectares or 7.5 acres) (Cumings, 1989:12). The small land size and large rural population (62 percent of total population) hindered agrarian modernization which was desired for more efficient food production (Bellow and Rosenfeld, 1990:91).

The low productivity rate in the rural areas aggravated by the government's cheap grain policy facilitated a massive exodus from the land to the cities, as shown in the following table.

Table II-4. Share of Farm Population in Total Population from 1955 to 1988.

Year	1955	1965	1975	1985	1988
Share of Farm Population in Total Population (%)	61.9	55.8	38.2	21.1	17.4

Source: Song (1990:170).

The dramatic demographic changes can be partly explained by the structural changes accomplished earlier in the agricultural sector, and later in the manufacturing sector beginning in 1965. Long (1977:36) explains;

> The South Korean agrarian sector suffered immensely in the sixties and early seventies for several reasons which are linked to the externally-oriented economy. The need for abundant and cheap labor was an integral part of government's agricultural policy; in order to guarantee a constant flow of agricultural laborers into the industrialized cities, the government held agricultural prices so low as to make it uneconomical for Korean peasants to cultivate their land. Peasants headed for the cities in search of gainful employment.

The agricultural sector provided not only cheap labor for the emergence of an import-substitution industrialization, but also surplus labour for the manufacturing sector. By lowering grain prices and maintaining low workers' wages, manufactured goods could be competitive.

There were also government efforts to support the rural sector. In the early 70's, government adopted a double-pricing policy which encouraged the buying of grain at a high price, and then selling it on a subsidized basis to urban consumers (Bellow and Rosenfeld, 1990:82). As a result, the income difference between the urban and rural sector was at its narrowest gap. However, the failure of consistent support for the sector is evidenced in the fact that at present, about 90 percent of Korea's GNP is generated by urban, non agricultural activities (Song, 1990:21)

Thus, due to the lack of a plan to develop and integrate agriculture into a national economic development strategy, the rural sector was sacrificed to the industrialization process.

U.S. and International Aid

After the collapse of the colonial mode of production, the chaotic economic situation was compounded by the Korean War (1950-53), and the consequent separation of the agrarian south from the industrial north. However, as in the case of the land reforms, the indiscriminate destruction of war was also responsible for the homogenization of Korean society. The post-war period from 1953 to 1960 can be described as one of slow recovery, assisted by massive aid grants from the United States. It is impossible to discuss the nature of Korean development without mentioning the support and aid from the U.S. From 1946 to 1983, the total aid from the US was estimated at $6. 041 billion. During the same period, international assistance from the UN amounted to over 6.415 billion dollars.

Japan also aided Korea from 1965 to 1975, channelling 1.8 billion and 5 million (US) into South Korea from 1979-81(Kurian, 1987:1094). In fact, during particularly 1953, 1956-58 one- third to as much as one-half of the government's revenues came from the United States (Bank of Korea,1969). Since 1966, the American grant aid support has been gradually phased out and replaced by loan aid. Except for smaller amounts earmarked for technical assistance, grant aid ended in 1970 (Breidenstein, 1973:240).

American influence over and intervention in Korean economic policy was a natural consequence of this development aid (Cole and Lyman, 1971). For example, Korea has agreed to buy imported U.S. grain exclusively. The US involvement to Korean development was made at top government levels, which was labelled as "participant training" (Steinberg, 1986, 23). By promoting the eventual dependence upon American economic planning and exchange by way of economic aid, the American role in the recovery of the collapsed postwar political and economic system was crucial towards establishing the capitalist economic system in Korea.

State-run Development

There are many indications that Korea, compared to other NICs is unique in the sense that the government initiated the economic growth (Amsden, 1990;Wade, 1993; West, 1987; Choi, 1983). In assuming the 'commander's seat', with the guiding strategy of export-oriented industrialization, the state formalized five Five-Year Economic Development Plans in 1962, 1967, 1972, 1977 and 1982. The formulation of the country's economic and other policies became the prime responsibility of the head of state and bureaucratic elites.

There are many signs that the government played a major role as the economic mobilizer. First, by controlling the banking institutions, the government successfully channelled domestic and foreign capital to selected industries. One good example of this centralized economic development strategy is the group, 'Chaebôl', the Korean version of large Japanese trading companies like Mitsubishi (zaibatsu). Under the state umbrella, the Korean chaebol came into being in order to pursue the export-led economic policy. In 1989, the four top chaebol accounted for half of the country's GNP (Clifford, 1990; Mar. 1). The state and chaebol relationship became extremely corrupt in the 1980's. Because of the government's heavy reliance on the chaebol as the locomotive of growth, the government remained committed to drafting an economic plan that mainly targeted the chaebols.

Secondly, the government policy for development was also reflected in the grandiose plan to transform the industry structure from reliance on light industry to dependence upon heavy industry. The intention of the shift was to reduce import dependency within industry by the mid 70s, and was supported by a broad range of fiscal supports. This shift paved the road to establishing shipbuilding and car industries, rarely found in the third world.

Lastly, the ability of the South Korean regime to sustain its economic drive alongside the continual flow of foreign loans and investments rested upon its ability to keep wages depressed (McCormack and Selden, 1978:100), Korean wages were one-tenth the equivalent of wages in the US and one-sixth of Japan (Long, 1977). The deliberate policy of depressing wages is reflected in the policy of keeping grain prices low and in the repressive measures used against the labor movement. The low grain policy was designed to control worker's wages so that manufactured goods would maintain competitive prices. Of course, repressive control of insurrectionary labor movements was essential for the stable flow of foreign investment. Koreans have historically worked the longest working hours in the world under some of the most hazardous conditions (Clifford, 1987). To successfully organize and manage the working class, the government constructed three lines of containment: legal, ideological and repressive (Bello and Rosenfeld, 1990:30).

The strong leading role of government in industrialization was made possible by its close connection with the repressive military regime of the period.

Foreign Capital

For most of its growth, Korea has been dependent upon the international cooperation of two giants, the US and Japan, for the import of capital and export of products. Korea borrowed 83.5% of its total commercial loans from the US in August of 1975. Japan has been predominant in the direct investment sector, supplying 65.5% of investment to Korea between 1962-75 while the US supplied 17.4% of the remaining direct investments. The two countries have a combined account of an overwhelming 83.9% (Economic Planning Board, 1976) of all foreign capital entering Korea.

Although South Korea imported foreign capital on a massive scale, the country has been known for its highly restrictive foreign investment regulations (Bello and Rosenfeld, 1990:55). Multinational investment has largely been restricted to labor-intensive exports and the commanding industries are mainly owned and controlled by indigenous firms (Amsden, 1990). Foreign firms are regarded mainly as organizations to be milked for technology. This reflects the government's role as a parental protector for local capitalists.

Other Factors

In order to ease the indebtedness inherent in an export-led economy, the political regime searched for foreign currency. In one example, Korean mercenary forces received more than $10 billion from the US (McCormack and Selden, 1978: 28) by undertaking a "faithful" role in the Vietnam War. The Vietnam War played the same 'locomotive role' for Korea's economy that the Korean War played for the Japanese economy fifteen years earlier.

From 1973 onwards, the government pursued a policy of seeking construction projects abroad, especially in the Middle East where destruction abounded due to the Iran-Iraq War. To aid the efficient transmission of foreign currency, the regime exempted tax for the companies and their workers as long as they sent home 80 percent of their earnings (Lewis, 1988:65). The Middle East construction boom gave South Korea's depleted foreign-exchange earnings a much-needed boost.

In addition, there are other socio-cultural factors, such as Confucianism, and the fact that many workers are highly educated: both have impacted on Korean economic development. The discussion of these aspects will be made in the social-cultural development section.

In conclusion, Korean economic development can be attributed to factors such as Japanese colonialism and land reform, both of which had a role in the rise of industrialization. The combination of massive American aid and a government - directed economic plan resulted in the economic development seen over the past three decades.

In order to accomplish its economic aims, one would expect to find South Korean textbooks reflecting state ideology about society and development in all subjects. The present study will provide evidence to clarify the validity of this expectation and contribute to the expanding scholarly literature on textbook knowledge. The next chapter on methodology will discuss the manner in which textbooks will be analyzed and will explore the analytic scheme upon which the analysis will depend.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on the ideological orientation of educational knowledge reflected in Korean school textbooks and attempts to trace the changes in the content of textbooks from the Korean War to the present. Since this study is centered on the textbook content, the method used for this examination is content analysis. Researchers have argued that one important use of content analysis is the generation of indicators that point to the state of beliefs, values, ideologies, or other culture system (Weber, 1985; Berg,1989.) Markoff et. al (1975) makes the case for the appropriateness of content analysis for the study of ideology and other elements that are impossible to measure empirically within the social sciences.

> We believe it fair to summarize research on social mobility in American history as follows: . . . the rate of success in such a movement (from working class to middle class) has little or no significance in the life of the aggregate - the history of American society. What seems to have been important is a myth, a set of expectations, an ideology - in short, subjective definitions of the situation. If we regard such elements of social systems as impossible to measure, then the variables that alone appear of importance in the light of recent research are to remain outside empirical study! The only way we know of measuring subjective dispositions over time is through a study of written records in which we believe them to be reflected, and any technique for rigorously and systematically summarizing such written records is a technique of content analysis (Markoff et. al.,1975:10).

Although content analysis is a method by which to read meaning from communication text, mostly in written languages, (Stone,1966; Krippendorff, 1969), until recently attempts to read and objectively interpret the message was done by counting the frequency of a word or some other units. An example of such documentary analysis by tagging the words into the categories is seen in McClelland's (1958) work on the need for achievement. While quantitative content analysis may provide an objective, systematic and statistically reliable method it is not sensitive to changes of meaning over time. On this point, Gilbert makes some critical observations:

> Content analysis and earlier forms of interpretation were therefore theoretically reductionist and methodologically superficial. Small units were seen as the raw material for the linear and additive process of the production of meaning. Frequent presence was the focus to the neglect of absence and omission, and texts

> were seen to cohere through simple addition of elements rather than underlying schematic structure (1989:63).

Thus, the quantitative method of content analysis is not appropriate to identifying the different meanings of a word in different contexts. Since this research is to penetrate and uncover subtle meanings or messages across time, the focus of the approach to content analysis in this study will be qualitative.

There are several reasons why a qualitative approach is particularly appropriate to this study. Firstly, qualitative methods are particularly oriented toward exploration, discovery, and inductive logic (Patton, 1990). Qualitative content analysis attempts to understand the multiple interrelationships among dimensions that emerge from the data without making prior assumptions or specifying hypotheses. The aim of qualitative research is not verification of a predetermined idea, but discovery that leads to new insights (Sherman and Webb, 1989.) Secondly, qualitative inquiry concerns the importance of content. It is context-specific, that is, ideas, people and events cannot be understood if isolated from their contexts. Understanding of the whole context of society, its political, economic and social-cultural context is essential for overall understanding of research questions (Patton, 1990). Thirdly, the qualitative approach is holistic not only because the research question should be understood in its larger social context, but also because research questions themselves should be studied as whole, not in isolation from each other or from the past or the present (Edson, 1989). Given these methodological concerns, a qualitative method is appropriate for a comprehensive analysis of the complexities involved in tracing the changing ideological messages evident in Korean textbooks over time (Babbie, 1983.)

In analyzing the ideological aspects of textbook knowledge, the following questions guided this study of Korean textbooks:

1. What assumptions, value-orientations, conceptual and empirical knowledge, and strategies for societal, personal and inter-personal practice are promoted by the textbooks in terms of paradigms of national development?

2. What type of political system is emphasized as legitimate and desirable for Korean society and what citizenship role is implied for the students?

3. What images of North Korea are represented in the textbooks and what are their overt and hidden ideological themes?

4. How do the textbooks portray and legitimate the role of the school and other social/cultural institutions in Korean society?

5. Are there any representations of social inequality in terms of social class, gender and ethnicity and what implications do these hold for the social consciousness of the students?

6. How is the interaction between the different (i.e. Oriental/Western) cultures presented and what does this mean for the role of textbooks as mediators of cultural knowledge in a society subject to intensive forces of modernization?

In order to answer these questions, strategic decisions needed to be made about the content to be analyzed in this.

The Data

The ideological content of school knowledge is conveyed in many ways, through many channels and in all subjects taught in school. Curricula, pedagogy, classroom interactions, institutional structure, and the education of teachers all shape the knowledge conveyed in classrooms. For this study of school knowledge, school textbooks were selected because textbooks are social products that can be examined within the context of time, place and function (Anyon, 1979:361). In the South Korean context where the textbook is exclusively controlled by the national state and is the primary medium of teaching and learning, textbooks have a significance as a source of school knowledge that is much greater than in educational settings where the content of schooling reflects parent, teacher or local influences.

Social studies textbooks have been selected as the object of analysis because social studies education has to do primarily with imparting knowledge about society and an understanding of it (Cherryholmes, 1983; Giroux, 1979). As Apple points out, social studies is the subject that mirrors and fosters an orientation to society's perspectives (Apple, 1990:88). In addition to social studies textbooks this study examines moral education textbooks. Like social studies, moral education is a core subject designed to embody and inculcate the image of the desirable Korean citizen.

Although in the South Korean educational system, social studies and moral education become independent subjects in grade 3, the chosen focus of this study is the middle school. The avowed purpose of middle school education is to provide a common secondary education on the basis of education received at the elementary school level (Ministry of Education,1986:40). The importance of the middle school curriculum is in expanding the concepts introduced in primary education and in laying out the logical foundations for abstract thinking in order to equip the student with a frame of reference for the understanding of society and the world. Middle school textbooks compound two functions - their descriptive aspects increase factual information, and their abstract aspects further logical thinking and reasoning abilities. Consequently, the middle school textbooks are expected to balance the dissemination of information or facts, with the representation and interpretation of these facts. These features of middle school education make it the appropriate location on which to focus this analysis.

There are three areas that are associated in the broader category of social studies in the middle school level - geography, history and civics. In general, these areas are matched to the three grade levels of Korean middle schools. This means, the area covered at the 7th grade in social studies textbooks is geography while history is studied at the 8th grade and civics at the 9th grade. On my review of these three areas within social studies textbooks, the economic, social-cultural and political aspects of society are dealt with in the geography and civics components of the curriculum. It is not until the 1990's editions that history textbooks also contained content pertaining to political, economic and cultural systems of society. For this reason history texts are not included in this analysis except for the 1990 text.

In the case of moral education, I chose the 7th grade moral education textbooks for analysis. The subject of moral education is taught at all grade levels in middle school from the 7th to the 9th grades. The selection of one grade level (7th grade) for this study was determined based upon the outline provided by the Ministry of Education (1981). It states that there are four major issues that the moral education curriculum (textbook) covers in all grade levels of middle school. They are the issues pertaining to the individual, society, country and anti-communism.(p. 41). On this ground, the selection of moral studies textbook at the 7th grade level is regarded as a representative sample for the moral education textbooks at the middle school level.

Since end of the Korean War in 1953, the middle school curriculum has undergone major revisions in 1963, 1973, 1984-6 and 1989-91 (Ministry of Education, 1981:56, 1986.) These years of revision have coincided with changes in leadership and the establishment of new governments. President Park's regime was established in 1961, Chun's in 1980 and Roh's in 1988. The correlation of year of revision with the establishment of a new regime is indicative of the each government's imprimature on educational policy including the content of schooling.

Since the purpose of this study is to delineate and highlight the changes in curricula over approximately 30 years, from the 1960's to the present and in order to capture the trends, the study draws from textbooks published after the revision years.

The textbooks were collected for analysis in two ways. Firstly, in an attempt to collect original copies of textbooks, those textbooks published after 1984 were acquired.

Secondly, during the summer of 1993 those earlier texts that were out of print and not available,were borrowed and photocopied from the Textbook Collection Library in the Korean Education Development Institute located in Seoul, Korea. Once the resources were collected I read the textbooks in order to gain a comprehensive overview of the content, to analyze the relevance of that content to this study and to ensure that sufficient material was available to address the research questions. In each case the table of contents was first examined and then the content was compared across time periods. After ensuring that there was sufficient appropriate material for analysis, the construction of strategies for data analysis was begun.

In total, 13 textbooks were analyzed - 4 textbooks in moral education and 9 textbooks in social studies. The title of those textbooks analyzed together with the year and author are listed as below.

Table III-1. Textbooks Analyzed

Year	subjects	grade	Title	Author(s)
1965	Moral Ed.	7th	Road to Democratic Reunification	Ministry of Education
1975	Moral Ed.	7th	Democratic Life	Ministry of Education
1984	Moral Ed	7th	Moral Education	Korean Educational Development Institute (KEDI)
1989	Moral Ed.	7th	Moral Education	KEDI
1965	Social Studies	7th	Social Studies (1)	Sanduk Whang et. al. (Authorized version of Ministry of Education)
1965	Social Studies	9th	Social Studies (3)	Sanduk Whang et. al. (Authorized version of Ministry of Education)
1975	Social Studies	7th	Social Studies (1)	Research committee of social studies education for Junior high schools
1975	Social Studies	9th	Social Studies (3)	Research committee of social studies education for Junior high schools
1984	Social Studies	7th	Social Studies (1)	KEDI
1986	Social Studies	9th	Social Studies (3)	KEDI
1989	Social Studies	7th	Social Studies (1)	KEDI
1990	Social Studies	8th	Social Studies (2)	KEDI
1991	Social Studies	9th	Social Studies (3)	KEDI

Data Collection and Strategies for Analysis

Once the content or data are defined for analysis, the categorization, or partitioning of that data is most important because it reflects the boundaries of content being examined. In the analysis of the qualitative research data, there are major elements upon which preliminary analysis will be made. These elements are words or terms, themes, characters, paragraphs, items, concepts, and semantics (Berelson, 1952, Merton, 1968, and Berg, 1983). Patton (1990) lists six categories of analysis; chronology, key events, various settings, people, processes and issues. From such categorization, themes for the classification and analysis of data can be determined.

In reviewing textbook studies, the three spheres delineated for the analysis of the ideological representation of knowledge are the Economic, Political and the Social and Cultural spheres (Apple and Weis, 1986; Kneller,1983). Although these three categories are broad enough to encompass the overall dimensions of textbook content, they are not specific enough to identify the systematic elements within a category. In order to decode the compounded text, the categories required further refinement. A further examination of the content led to the distinction of the following subcategories of each major sphere :

Economic Sphere

Categories	Coverage
Value/Orientation (E1)[4]	Covers the orientation to time, money and material resources in terms of economic development. It includes the work ethic toward achievement and free competition.
Type of Economy (E2)	Deals with the type of economy, eg. capitalism and socialism.
Rural Development (E3)	Deals with the modernization of the agricultural sector, land reform, and rural-to-urban migration.
Industrialization (E4)	Concerns with growth/ type of industry, and factors of production (natural resources, capital and labour).
Foreign Economic Relation (E5)	Relates to foreign investment and aid, foreign technology transfer and foreign trade with the nation.
Role of the State (E6)	Concerns the influence of government on the modernization process and relations between the state and the capitalist class.
Environment and Development (E7)	Related to environment conservation or destruction, and the issue of sustainable development.

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[4] Represents the coding procedure. Capital ' E' represents the category as encoded. The same approach will be followed in the social-cultural and political spheres.

Social and Cultural Sphere

Traditional/Modern Culture (SC 1)	Covers the traditional (Confucian) values and customs, and also takes a look at foreign influences in the transition to a modern society.
Agencies of Socialization (SC 2)	Deals with various socializing agencies such as family, school, media and religion, and their interrelationships.
Inequalities & Conflict	Concerns the four different dimensions of social conflict, class, gender, region and ethnicity.
Inequality of Class (SC 3)	Covers the rich and poor gap, social welfare and exploitation.
Inequality of Gender (SC 4)	Deals with unequal gender relations and existence of non-sexist policies.
Inequality of Region (SC 5)	Concerns with uneven development of regions and the urban-rural gap.
Inequality of Ethnicity (SC 6)	Focuses on the ethnic/racial inequalities and intercultural understanding.

Political Sphere

Type of Political System (P 1)	Focuses on the type of political development, e.g. democracy or communism.
Role of Citizen and Leaders (P 2)	With regards to the political system, it deals with the role of citizens and the nature of leaders. It is concerned with patriotism, nationalism and the depiction of heroes in stories.
National Security (P 3)	Covers the part on the national defense, the issue of re-unification and militarization.
Images of North Korea (P 4)	It comprehensively deals with the political/economic and socio-cultural systems of North Korea. Also, it relates to the comparative evaluation of the South and North and judgements on the image of North Korea.
Human Rights (P 5)	Concerns the basic human rights (freedom of speech, assembly, demonstration and residence), as well as views on the radical movements of workers, students and dissenters.

Coding

Once the analytical categories were established, the textbook content was coded with a four-tier numbering system. A code includes four kinds of information. The first element, combining a letter and a number gives reference to one of the three spheres, either the political, economic or social-cultural sphere, and the relevant subcategory of that sphere. The second number refers to the year of the textbook publication. The third element refers to the subjects identified as either social studies (SS) or moral education (ME), and the fourth elements refers to the page number of the textbook where the excerpt was taken. For example, the following illustrates the three-tier coding process from page 103 of a social studies textbook (1991).

> Our traditional culture has been eroded by the new (modern) education practiced after Independence from Japanese colonialism. Our nation has proclaimed that the establishment of the Western democratic ideal has provided an education that emphasizes the respect of individuality, equality and humanity as the basis of democracy.
> (SC1-91-SS-103),(P1-91-SS-103)

The content refers to the change of values from traditional Korean culture to modern Western thought through modern educational influences. The above extract falls under both categories of SC 1 and P1, which deal with traditional/modern culture in reference to foreign influences, and the type of political system. The textbook containing this passage was published in 1991 and the subject is social studies. Therefore the four-tier code is SC1-91-SS-103 and P1-91-SS-103. The primary reason for this coding lies in the need for an effective mechanism for sorting content into the 18 sub-categories in order to extract the ideas, and values and ideological aspects from each sphere.

The process of coding the material was done manually, due to incompatability of a Korean language with my computer software. The work was done in several steps -- reading the textbooks, categorization, cutting out the portion, pasting the excerpt on an index card, and noting three tier code below the excerpt. When a textbook excerpt was applicable to more than one different categories, a photocopy of the excerpt was included and coded under every other category.

There were two phases in the process of categorizing any particular portion of a textbook. First each portion was read through in its entirety. At this stage, the purpose was to select an excerpt from a textbook and to assign a preliminary category. This meant keeping in mind all 18 categories as I read the material. At the same time concerns about validity and reliability needed to be kept in mind as well. In the case of validity, my concern was to understand and categorize the material as objectively as possible. In the case of reliability, my concern was with maintaining consistency in my categorizations and in avoiding errors that might occur because of fatigue or inattention.

As one way to maintain a balanced perspective throughout a textbook, I decided to read the textbook with one or two scheme in mind. I found that this later method work out better than the first one, because I was able to narrow my study to a manageable process.

Once the coding process was complete, the index cards were sorted into the eighteen categories, then each card in a category was numbered and filed by sphere in an index card box for easy handling. As Patton (1990:377) notes the process of collecting data and analyzing it is never clearly divided in a qualitative study. This certainly is true of the process described above.

Analysis and Interpretation

The initial task in analyzing each content excerpt was to determine that excerpts were appropriately categorized. Then, the themes or main ideas that characterized the content in each major category were explicated. During this process, I attempted to keep an open mind and not impose my biases or construct a reality that was my own rather than that in the material itself.

All cards in a given category were reviewed several times and first classified into different epoches, then according to issues or focuses. This process was aimed at identifying temporal changes in the content and ideological bent of the textbooks over time. After a textbook excerpt was classified into the smaller issues or different perspectives within a particular category, the meaning and interpretation of each excerpt was explicated. Two questions borne in mind curing this stage concerned whether enough content had been collected to represent a theme or issue, and what excerpts should be selected for translation and ultimately for inclusion in the thesis. From time to time, I went back to the original textbooks and reread them, this time with a greater focus on the theme.

Translation

All the above textbooks was done in the Korean language. To show the content of textbook, it was necessary to translate the textbook excerpt into English. In carrying the message of the textbook excerpts into English, I attempted to translate as closely as possible to the exact literal translation, making only those editorial changes necessary to enhance the readability and accurate conveyance of ideas. Every effort was made to provide accurate translation, changing as little as possible.

Two types of editorial changes were made. First of all, long sentences were broken up into shorter sentences in order to correspond with conventional English usage. Secondly, the middle of an excerpt was often not translated because the first and the last part of the extract carry the meaning, and because space was limited. The abbreviated portion in an excerpt was marked by the symbol, (. . .).

Reliability and Validity

Because this study relies on a qualitative approach, I did not seek the rigorous scientific standards of reliability and validity found in quantitative studies. However, an effort to provide 'some' valid and reliable data processing was made at three stages.

First of all, it was made during the coding process. To validate my coding process I asked a Korean friend to ensure that the coding were correct. Whenever possible, she and I discussed the content, the coding process and the interpretation.

Secondly, in order to validate the translation process, I asked two Korean persons to check my translation; their concern was not that I had changed meaning, but with the structure of sentence. In addition, I had kept a very close relationship with my proofreader, and my "Nemesis" who also provided a check and balance whenever different opinion arose from both sides.

Lastly, as one way to validate my interpretation, I attempted to use the triangulation method (Patton, 1990). On the usefulness of the method, Denzin (1970, quoted in Patton, 1990) argued that "by combining multiple observers, theories, methods and data sources." researchers can hope to "overcome the intrinsic bias that comes from single-methods, single-observer, and single-theory studies".

As my triangulation method, the document research was combined with my interpretation, by analyzing the research reports, journals and various publications of the UN, the Korean government and other institutions were quoted, thereby I could check the validity of my interpretation and support my reasoning. Although the above three processes helps the researcher limit the biased observation of this study, I understand there is no such thing as absolute objectivity and a value-free science. The matter of subjectivity in this qualitative study is the demerit and merit as well. Despite the qualitative research results, the insights and shortcomings of this research are solely mine.

Limitations and Delimitations

School textbooks are written in Korean and since only some of the source material was translated into English, the quality and adequacy of the research will rest solely with the researcher.

Although textbooks represent the backbone of the knowledge formation process in South Korean schools, it does not necessarily mean that the textbook is wholly responsible for the knowledge shaping structure.

Another delimitation of the proposed study is the focus on content of school textbooks. Issues of pedagogy, classroom interactions, and other institutional and community factors which can shape the outcomes of knowledge formation will not be considered. However, this delimitation does not diminish the significance of and validity of the study in the Korean context since as is often the case in many South nations, the textbooks represents the backbone of the knowledge formation process in schools.

This is not to suggest though, that I subscribe to a reductionist view of knowledge and schooling. It is hoped that the findings of this study can be complemented by future studies into the other processes and factors which affect knowledge formation. Adequate explanation of the knowledge formation process will remain on the total sphere of education, not reducible to any one factor such as teacher, students or the interaction between them.

CHAPTER IV

INTERPRETATION OF THE ECONOMIC SPHERE

1. Value/Orientation

Within the context of the economic sphere,the analysis of value orientations focuses on the orientation towards time, money and material resources. It includes the work ethic as well as values concerning achievement and free competition. This analysis focuses upon the way the whole framework of value in the economic sphere is constructed.

Money and Time

In a poor country striving for development, it is natural that time and money would be seen as resources to be carefully managed. The saving of money and time are not a matter of individual choice, but an ethical duty, especially in a country with a large population and scarce natural resources (84-ME-45).

> Our country is especially in a hurry to achieve economic development and in need of investment money, but is hindered by a shortage of national capital and foreign capital loans. Due to the tendency of lavish spending and the low saving rate of the people, the task of boosting people's savings is one of the most important tasks.(75-SS3-119)

Thus, the nation's deliberate attempt to mobilize its citizens is captured in the role of a junior high student as exemplified below:

> A carefully planned lifestyle includes how one can effectively utilize one's pocket money. In order to spend limited money wisely, caution is required. The resources that we use daily should be saved for the essentials. In addition, planning ahead as to how to spend the weekend is a way of using time efficiently. When time is allocated for studying and for preparation for exams, then it can be spent well (84-ME-35).

This message emphasizes that students with no income cannot be exempted from the practice of saving money. Further, the individual act of saving is directly linked to the nation's development.

> The individual's saving behavior is not only important for the household itself, but for the growth of industrial productivity and the national economy per se. Therefore, if the domestic capital based upon the household saving is incapable of backing up the productivity of industry, then the national economy would be stagnated (90-SS2-247-8).

Thus, austerity on the individual level, in every household, is heavily stressed in order to generate domestic capital (75-SS3-114). Rationally planned spending, within the limit of one's earnings is emphasized.

> We must manage our living expenses only within the range of our income, thus we should not be extravagant and squandering away our lives. Upon this way of life can we establish a sound society where sensible consumption is practiced (84-SS1-240).

To further encourage frugal living, the purchase of foreign goods is discouraged (65-SS3-226). Spending domestic capital on exotic goods has a malignant effect on the individual's effort to save money and contributes to the loss of valuable domestic capital. The use of the "Made in Korea" label is strongly encouraged to generate domestic capital for industry (86-SS3-286).

Tax evasion, hoarding, preference for foreign goods, and speculative investment in real estate, among other things, are regarded as immoral. Citizens are directed to refrain from these activities so the the the public economy is not threatened (86-SS3-304). The above fails, however, to reveal the side-effects of rapid economic growth where a small but 'influential' group, such as the Chaebol group, established economic power to maneuver the entire Korean economy. Amid rapid growth, it is only the 'haves' who can manipulate funds for their own purposes. Despite the economic reality, the textbook content still aims to convey the ideals of modernization where all will equitably benefit in growth.

In addition to describing the benefits of saving, the textbooks (65-ME-197,86-SS3-263) promote an image of capitalist institutions in service for national development. In addition, while favoring banks and other 'modern' financial institutions as the 'normal' and safe place to deposit money, other private and/or traditional ways of saving are excluded.

In the value orientation towards time and money, any so-called squandering is seen to undermine national development as well as the individual *per se*. However, the most valuable aspect of this code of conduct is that these virtues are to be achieved "voluntarily" (86-SS3-269). In short, the textbooks exhort citizens to individually conserve resources for the sake of national growth while remaining silent about the insitutionalization of social class inequalities.

Work Ethic

Like the value orientation towards time and money, the work ethic is premised on the presupposition of Korea's poverty.

> Above all, our country is poor. Originally, the limited availability of natural resources which are divided among both Koreas has hindered the ability for both

> Koreas to achieve self-sustaining economies. However, the dilemma of scarce resources does not justify that we remain poor. (...) After all, is it not right that people unwilling to work are destined to be poor? (65-SS3-225)

The work ethic is strongly promoted in order to offset insufficient material resources. The value of labor goes beyond promoting individual well-being, the idea that the usefulness of the individual is based upon his/her work is advanced.

> Every occupation is a calling, in other words, a mission from God. For sure, we earn our living expenses from engaging in a job. But the true value of a job is not exhausted for the sole means of living. We as human beings are supposed to take a part in contributing to the society. Therefore, it is through a job that we are to fulfill this mission (65-SS3-222).

The contribution of the individual through his (her) job reinforces the spirit of capitalism found in the work ethic. As Weber (1970:2-3) argued, the calling is not necessarily a condition into which the individual is born, but may be a strenuous and exacting enterprise chosen by himself and pursued with a sense of religious responsibility. Labor is not merely an economic means; it is also a spiritual end.

Based on this capitalist image of society, textbooks, throughout the time period examined reinforce the necessity for a strong work ethic.

> Our students should study harder than any other country's students in the world and be as competitive. Not only oneself but our people should be competitive; we should teach someone lagging behind and encourage everyone to be literate (65-SS3-231).

Textbooks convey the enlightenment spirit to students, by advocating that individual achievement (i.e. acquisition of literary skills) is closely related to 'our' survival in the competitive world. The 75's textbook added more specific skills, based upon the basic skill of literacy.

> Because a job is supposed to approximate to one's capability, one's competence should equal the condition that a job requires, for example, foreign language proficiency or speedy calculating skills (75-SS3-185).

The selection of these two important skills - foreign language fluency and computation - demonstrate that these textbooks reflect a strong demand of skills particular to an export-based economy.

> In order to secure the daily goods, father and mother earn money through work. The economic principle is to be applied in choosing jobs. A person with manual skills holds a job in an area of production lines, someone with a good command of paper has a job in administrative work, and a man who owns capital and management skills is involved in business. Likewise, the economic principle is

> applicable to job opportunities; one works in occupations suited to one's aptitude and capabilities (84-SS1-216).

This excerpt strongly conveys the image of a liberal functional-meritocratic society, where everyone has an equal chance of job opportunities according to one's capabilities. In order to cope with the global economy and the ideas of free trade in the 90's, the textbook (91-SS3-85) presents "the idea of specialists in a field that fits with one's caliber". In brief, the textbooks protects the interrelationship between one's capabilities and occupation, and one's contributions to the nation through work.

Modern Mentality

As already detailed, Korea has a strong traditional heritage. There are certain traditions that were regarded as barriers to national development, and it became necessary to adopt favorable psychological attitudes towards development in place of these traditions.

Above all, independence and self-reliance are considered part of the new ethic. As a way to achieve it, the 1965 (SS3-33, 191, 194) and 1975 (SS3-202) textbooks heavily emphasize breaking traditional ties to the community-based level of society. For example, an individual's reliance on his rich and/or prestigious parents or relatives is seen to be a remnant of tradition; he is seen as a free loader and as a liability to the family.

The idea of modern society was officially expressed in the mottos of the "Saemaul Movement" during the mid-70s: they stressed diligence, self-help and cooperation (84-ME-178-9). Of these, diligence and self-help are individual virtues and cooperation is the collective effort which urges participation in national development projects such as the Movement. A cooperative spirit is a traditional virtue. However, it has been reemphasized for the modernization of Korea. Cooperation can be practiced by avoiding tax liabilities, not buying foreign products, and by participating in the national land development project. (84-SS1-333)

In addition to the above values, determination and perseverance are also valuable assets to adopt due to the prevailing economic and national situation (75-SS3-167,181).

> My father bought a book for me when I was in the 6th grade of elementary school. KyungHee (a girl), remembers that she was so absorbed by the book that she finished reading the whole book overnight. She felt so sorry for the hero in the book, Lumi (key figure) that she was moved to tears and cheers for Lumi, who possessed such resilience and unfailing courage during adversarial situations (75-ME-76).

The idea of sacrificing today for a better tomorrow is a desired asset for development.

In summary, the general orientation of the textbooks is aimed at the economic development of Korea. More specifically, themes can be read at both the individual and national levels. A strong work ethic, independence, achievement motivation, cooperation, austerity and frugality must be applied to the individual's orientation towards time, money and material resources. These values are played out in a society that is liberal, functional and meritocratic. From a critical sociological perspective, these orientations and themes serve to reproduce the dominant strategy of economic growth which is under the control of an emergent economic and political elite. Temporal development of these value/orientations is intertwined with the overall change in society during the modernization period. Resulting dynamics will be discussed in the section on traditional and modern culture.

2. Type of Economy

This category is concerned with the type of economy, economic structure, for example capitalism and socialism, that is represented within textbooks. The economy of South Korea is considered to be capitalistic in nature.

> We presently cultivate an economic life that is capitalistic. The capitalist economic system was initially established in the U. K. during the latter half of the 18th century, and gradually spread throughout the world, eg. some European countries and the U.S. Capitalism has greatly advanced our productivity by assuring free economic activity, and thus has remarkably improved our economy (75-SS3-137).

By focusing on the universalizing trend of eurocentrism, capitalism, the content strongly implies that this economic model should be adopted in South Korea. In categorizing South Korea as a free market economy along with other free market countries, such as the two most powerful capitalist countries in the world, the US and Japan, a more recent textbook (90-SS2-244) continues this positive orientation towards the advanced capitalism in South Korea. This preference for capitalism is further stressed by contrast with socialism.

Two Economic Systems : Capitalism vs. Socialism

Textbooks show the temporal development of the ideas of capitalism and socialism throughout the 70's to the 90's. In the 60's, the omission of any mention of socialism reflected the socio-political atmosphere of the country. Before that, there was a clash between the two extreme ideologies during the Korean War (1950-53). The post-war period was a critical time wherein Korea had to construct a strong capitalist economy that would serve the nation's future objectives.

> For sure there are many impoverished and unhappy people in the world. However, this is not due to the vices of capitalism. (. . .) It is possible to maintain

> and develop the present capitalist economic system and enhance its legitimacy and appropriateness. After all, the superpowers, especially the U.S. have been prospering to this day by treading that same development path (65-ME-202-3).

As a result of political expediency, references to socialism became non-existent, so as not to invite obstacles to South Korea's social and economic development. These immature stages of formation as a new capitalist country can be read in the message that South Korea would do well to emulate the American model. The textbook content plays a role in voicing clear objectives for the nation building process.

Relative to the 65's textbook, the 75's textbook contained subtle references to socialism.

> Points of Study (1)
>
> 1. Let's study about the characteristics of the capitalist economy and its merits and demerits.
> 2. Let's study about the characteristics of the socialist system and the kinds of contradictions between its idea and practice.
> 3. Let's study what various measures were taken in order to overcome the weaknesses of the capitalist economy in some countries of the world (75-SS3-137-8).

Although the first and second items sound similar in context, the reading of the first two points in conjunction with the third highlights the biased orientation taken towards each economic system. Capitalism, although flawed, is implied as progressive because it contains possibilities for improvement. In contrast, socialism is defined as having inherent contradictions (75-SS3-137). Capitalism is flexible system which, when corrected, will meet the needs of the nation (75-SS3-144). The description, as well as the form of questioning, reflects how the textbook content transmits its messages.

There is a subtle way of teaching for the desired answers. For example, in the first and second points of study, there is a big difference between ITS (CAPITALISM'S) MERITS AND DEMERITS and the CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN THE IDEA AND PRACTICE. The two points are very different and thus manipulative in the sense that the first one does not explicitly ask for reflection on nor questioning about capitalism's idea and practice, but merely asks to list its good and bad points. In the second point, however, the contradiction is emphasized very explicitly, and the stage is already set for an enclosed answer, one that will eventually vilify socialism. Not surprisingly, as direct and also manipulative questions, they leave no room for critical reflection or discussion. The manner of questioning dictates the way of thinking, for it does not ask the students to reflect on the various aspects of the economic systems, but merely to answer the questions mechanically. This ideological representation of capitalism vs. socialism did not change in the 84's textbook.

Points of Study

1. What are the characteristics of the capitalist economic system?
2. What are the inefficiencies of the socialist economic system?
3. How does the capitalist economic system improve its weakness? (84-SS1-256)

In short, the treatment of the two systems is clearly meant to convey bipolarism by highlighting socialism as inefficient and flawed and capitalism as more flexible. It is clear that capitalism is to be perpetuated in order to fulfill the objectives of the country. The coverage of the two systems appears to be comparable, but an implicit message of the superiority of capitalism is conveyed by way of its emphasis on the one system over the other.

In contrast, the 90's textbooks, however, have softened this image of socialism, as seen below.

Points of Study

1. How were the market economy and controlled economy formed and developed?
2. What are the principles of the market economy?
3. What kinds of problems are found in countries with either systems?
4. How has the market economic system been improved and the controlled economy been rectified? (90-SS2-278)

The extract from the current textbook now refers to capitalism as a "market economy" while socialism has been changed to a "controlled economy". This description does tone down the deemed incompatibility of the two systems, but by using the verb "IMPROVE" with reference to the market economy and "RECTIFIED" with reference to a controlled economy, the idea persists that a market economy progresses though there is always room for improvement while the latter requires correction since it was a mistake to begin with. Thus, it still imparts the overall image that the "controlled economy" remains inherently flawed and in need of correction.

Besides the mechanical comparison between the two systems, there are more points to analyze for the textbook's role in legitimating one system over the other.

> It (capitalism) is concerned with free competition and private ownership. Because the private ownership is ensured and the freedom of economic activities are guaranteed, everyone can fully perform to one's capabilities and therefore the efficient use of resources are achieved by the competition in markets (84-SS1-258).

> Even though socialist countries regard them as the workers' heaven, they continue to suffer from low productivity from the loss of motivation and lethargy, resulting from the fixed share regardless of one's performance (90-SS2-283-4).

The textbook eventually succeeds in making a mockery of socialism as a workers' heaven, and demeans it as a poor system characterized by low productivity due to a lack of free competition, thereby reinforcing the superiority of capitalism. Therefore, the coverage of socialism basically purports that the system is inefficient and poorly planned.

Although most textbook content presents contrasting views on the two systems, some attempt to give a "balanced view" of capitalism is made by calling attention to capitalism's demerits. For example, the problems of inequality between the rich and poor, big industries and small businesses, the unemployed peoples' subjection to economic cycles, the rise of monopoly capitalism and its detrimental effects on consumers, etc., is mentioned (75-SS3-139, 84-SS1-258). However, even though the weaknesses of capitalism are drawn out, it does not necessarily mean that capitalism should be abandoned. Instead, references convey a picture of capitalism as a flexible system capable of improvement, as exampled in the earlier part of this section. The need for improvement justifies government intervention in the economic system. Whenever weaknesses require "doctoring", a new system is assumed; Revised Capitalism (75-SS3-144). The technocratic efficient management function of government in capitalism is deemed essential to further the development of capitalism. Conversely, a textbook (84-ME-270) decries government-owned industry in socialism because then industry would not be able to develop competitive products.

It is here that we can detect the contradictory arguments found in the textbooks about the necessity of government intervention in capitalism, and the uncompetitive spirit of government-owned industry in socialism. The ideological underpinnings of textbook knowledge are evident and pervasive, designed to justify the establishment and maintain the status quo. The textbook, exemplified by these contradictory arguments between preservation of 'private' property and protection of 'public' property, is geared to bring every means, even by way of a double standard, into the service of social legitimation. The textbook claims (84-ME-62-3) that the North Korean people are not mindful of public property because it is not owned by individuals. However, the latter part (p.116) of the very same textbook emphasizes the importance of protecting of public facilities because they are built from tax money. The textbook content argues effectively to legitimate any necessary values from any context, even though this results in contradiction.

Class in Capitalism

The textbooks recognize the existence of social class in capitalist societies in terms of a functional division of roles in the economic system. Legitimation of class is attempted by differential treatments of these classes.

> Modern economy does not exist only by the division of labor. It requires a look at the workplace in which production is carried out, and we can discern where the owner and laborers are carrying out different roles. The modern economy is called a capitalist economy, in which business owners (or capitalists) and laborers are the engine of the economy (65-SS3-121).

Furthermore, there is a clear legitimation of the contribution of the capitalist class to societal well-being as shown in the following extracts:

> One considers it unjust when a business owner is trying to turn a profit. Also the owner himself is reluctant to appear as an obvious profit seeking person. But one should not assume that profiteering is a devious act, since the business owner can legitimately profit on the one hand, and serve society on the other hand (84-SS1-253).

> Accordingly, the business profits should be understood not in negative terms, i.e. that the business paid less for the production element, but as a positive term that the business endeavored to survive (90-SS2-264).

This affirmative image of the role of the capitalist class contrasts significantly with the textbook's image of the working class.

> Whereas the wage is reward only for one's labor, the business income includes not only the reward for one's labor but the capital investment to the business, creative contribution to management and the burden of risk, etc. (90-SS2-248-9)

The profit-seeking behavior of the capitalist was deemed legitimate and even advocated for as a benefit to society. The rewards for the working classes within capitalism are seen as the result of hard labour, whereas the capitalist class is deserving because of physical effort and labour as well as other 'mental' contributions. Furthermore, the logic of the market place is deemed to be a fair mechanism for apportioning rewards in a capitalist economy.

> In one market, goods such as rice are sold. In the other market, production elements like human labor are transacted. In the labor market, the deal is ruled by the supply of labor power, and the demand from the business owner. The worker's income is drawn because the wage, that is the price of labor, is ruled by the law of demand and supply, therefore, the matter of distribution of wealth is also resolved by the market principle (84-SS1-230).

This conception of the working classes is 'logical' where human labor is understood as a commodity to be transacted in the marketplace. In the South Korean context, where labor supply is abundant, the infusion of a strong work ethic and the market principle is applied to the labor market, resulting in the maintenance of a reserve army of surplus labor, where wages are kept low and labor-intensive products are produced. Textbooks teach students to be prepared for joining the labor market, ruled by the competitive distribution of wealth and maintained by the formation of a working class consciousness. In doing so, textbooks perform an educational role in the formation of capitalism in South Korea.

Textbooks justify the capitalist class on the following grounds: 1) business (industry) is the most important part of capitalist production (65-SS3-124), 2) the public support of capital is crucial because capital creation promotes an increase in production (90-SS2-251), and 3) the overall growth of industry produces national development (65-SS3-147). Building upon these different assumptions, texts convey the ideological importance of the capitalist class and the legitimation of 'public' protection of 'private' profit in the name of national development.

The favorable image of the business class has been modified to reflect a more moderate stance.

> Every business is not creative and sound. Certain businesses, in pursuit of quick profit, have contaminated the environment due to the ill-treatment of waste from the production process, and attempted to produce and profit from the defective products. Moreover, certain business owners seek undue profits by participating in speculative investment, and hoarding etc. (90-SS2-264-5).

The above content mirrors changes in the overall social attitudes toward the capitalist class from the earlier, unconstrained support of the class to a more moderate opinion which takes into consideration the potential flaws of business. Nevertheless, there is still no doubt about the textbook's preference for the capitalist route to modernization

So far, this review of the textbook portrayals of socialism and capitalism reveal the historical development of these ideas within South Korean education. Not surprisingly, the omission of any mention of socialism in the 60's, and its moderate coverage in the 90's, mirrors the political climate of each period. Due to the collapse of socialist countries, the strong incompatibility between the two economic systems has been softened in the 90's textbooks. However, within descriptions of capitalism and socialism, contradictions are found in the interpretation of the governmental role in the two systems. Clearly, textbooks are devoted to preserving the status quo of each system, preventing 'critical' thinking or contradictory remarks about either.

3. Rural Development

This discussion is concerned with the modernization of the agricultural sector, land reform, and rural-to-urban migration. It is important to provide some background information regarding the rural sector in South Korea before beginning the analysis of textbook content. Until it shifted towards an industry-based economy, South Korea was originally an agrarian-based society. The two land reforms of the 1950's resulted in some degree of equalization of social wealth at the same time creating smaller-sized farm land with no more than 1 ha. for each farm household.

Textbooks (65-SS3-103, 75-SS3-243) begin their discussion of the modernization of the agricultural sector with mention of this small farm size, which is regarded as the predominant obstacle to rural development. Given this structural barrier to increased productivity, the textbooks promote the value of maximum utilization of small land. (65-SS1-29, 65-SS3-51)

> Because we do not want to disrupt agriculture, let's think about strategies to increase productivity per unit. In detail, how could the cultivating methods be improved, how about using more fertilizer or more pesticides, distributing quality seeds, and introducing modern agricultural methods? (65-SS1-17)

By diffusing a modern way of cultivation, such as using fertilizers and pesticides, the textbook's orientation to the rural sector has subsequently brought about value changes towards the land. Traditionally, land for Koreans has meant more than just an economic base; land was not only a means of survival but also a spiritual home and foundation. By stripping away the traditional values towards land, the introduction of modern values have generated an instrumental approach to the land as a economic means of producing more so that farmers can earn more from the land.

In addition to a change in values, the textbook also encourages the work ethic and an achievement-oriented value towards modernization of the agricultural sector.

> In order to get out of this impoverished situation, we are harnessing our every efforts into activities, such as the clearing of banks and idle land, the readjustment of land boundaries, development of underground water, sericulture, raising livestock, cultivation of fruit and cash crops and forms of subsidiary production. All these efforts are to achieve a better well-being by increasing the earnings of the village. (75-SS3-5)

In order to motivate individual farmers to increase productivity, the underlying assumption promoted to the rural people is based upon the need for achievement (N-Ach) model. The depiction of subsidiary work as indispensable (65-SS1-106) to the agricultural sector legitimates a strong work ethic among the villagers so that every possible means are exhausted to earn more. The adoption of modern ways of cultivation and the emphasis on a strong work ethic by encouraging subsidiary production has mutually reinforced the message that the modernization of the rural sector should be achieved by the farmers themselves. This kind of encouragement of the rural sector is contrasted by the manufacturing sector which is protected under the government umbrella in the name of industrialization:

> Because there are many things (increasing farmhouse earnings) to be achieved by each farm household alone, it is necessary to promote a self-reliance project through cooperative efforts among the farmers themselves (75-SS3-247).
>
> In 1970, the gross product of primary industry mainly based on agriculture accounted for 28% of the GNP. This decrease results not from the absolute amount of agricultural products from the GNP but from the relative decrease owing to the rapid growth of manufacturing products. Therefore, from the view of the national economy as a whole, we are rather pleased with the results (75-SS3-243-4).

Whereas the growth of the manufacturing sector is seen as the responsibility of all Koreans, the rural sector is supposed to pull itself up the bootstraps which by implication "blames the victim", the farmer, for low production or weakness in that sector.

Textbooks make no mention of the fact that unlike the industrial sector, there is no national level assistance for this 'marginal' sector of the economy. This 'hands off' individual-based orientation towards the agricultural sector makes both farmers and their products marginal to the modernization process. Although '65 and '75 textbooks mention the rural sector in dealing with the modernization process, they do not reveal the differential treatment of the two sectors. Therefore, it is safe to say that the overall rural development plan in the textbooks is rhetorical.

A temporal analysis of Korean textbooks illustrates the increasing marginalization of agriculture. As early as 1965 textbook signals the decline of the farming sector.

> By paying a visit to one of the most efficient farmhouses, let's listen to the past and future of agriculture in Ulsan (the foremost industrialized zone in Southeast South Korea). In addition, discuss about what agriculture in the Ulsan area will be like, as Ulsan is changing into an industrializing center (65-SS1-15).

The textbooks, forecasting the declining role of the small farm even prior to the industrialization period, advocate the adoption of modern methods of cultivation and encourage a subsidiary production base.

> Most villages, built a long time ago without planning, are poorly situated, along the narrow and winding roads and houses with thatched roofs. Thanks to the recent Saemaul project, the thatched roofs are changing into tiled or slated-roofings,and the paved roads ease transportation. From the efficient uses of land and the smooth circulation of products, the farmers' incomes are increasing, and therefore, our village is near modernizing (75-SS1-127).

By 1975, the textbook's emphasis is on rural development, not surprisingly, through the "Saemaul Movement" initiated by the military regime's policy. However, the textbook focuses on rural development in terms of physical appearance rather than on the fundamental problems of the sector, such as indebtedness arising from the purchase of modern machines and the cost for beautification of thatched roofs.

> President Park's message to stimulate villager's will and self-reliance effort for better living has turned the movement into a nation-wide movement (75-SS3-251).

This despite the fact that the movement did not seem to articulate a long-term development plan for the rural sector (Bello and Rosenfeld,1990:84). Confirming this point, content from the textbooks of the 80's and 90's merely echo the achievements of the movement, even though they lack any specifics about rural development.

> During the mid 70's, the average income per capita of the farmhouse is almost similar to the urban wage worker's; the wide gap of living standards between them was also narrowed. In addition, owing to the environment improvement project[1] of the Saemaul movement, the physical appearance of the countryside was completely changed, therein achieving a balance between the urban and rural sectors. As the Saemaul movement pave the way to a balanced society, it also contributed to national harmony (84-ME-188).

Still, this quotation downplays the socio-economic disparity between the two sectors, by describing them as if they have reached a perfect balanced state of development.

However, later textbooks (85-SS1-289, 85-SS3-287~8) actually identify a number of problems, such as the stabilization of agricultural products and insufficient supply of labor power to the rural areas. The most recent textbook gives greater voice to the difficulties of the rural sector (91-SS3-148). It begins, "the agriculture of our country faces difficult problems from various aspects", and the content illustrates over ten problems experienced in the rural sector. However, merely listing the problems to be solved without bringing any critical understanding of underlying mechanisms transmits a negative message to students. Although the development project for the rural sector is presented, the textbook (91-SS3-183) explicitly legitimates industrialization for the creation of job opportunities in the rural sector. This bias towards industrialization has fostered the careful introduction of mass-scale agribusiness ideas into the content of 1984 texts (SS1-289); in the 90's textbook (91-SS3-143), the fall of small-scale farming, which has survived for centuries is signalled.

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[1] This denotes the so-called 'beautification of the countryside'.

A phenomenon linked to the marginalization of the rural sector is rural-to-urban migration. Except in the 1960's when people remained on the land, the problem of migration was a repeated theme in the 75's and 85's textbooks.

> Our rural areas remained far behind the urban areas in politics, economy and culture. There has been a lack of a functional community group to meet the needs of the community members in rural areas, and also arable land has become smaller due to the increase in rural population. Therein, so-called rural-to-urban migration problems occur; that is, the movement of farmers to the city which eventually causes the overcrowding problems in the towns (75-SS3-239-40).

What is notable about presentations such as this is not the inclusion of problems resulting from rural-to-urban migration, but rather the image of rural life and people that is conveyed. The image itself may well have contributed to the depopulation of rural communities by making them unattractive to all but the aged and minors for whom migration was not possible (75-SS3-241). Since rural-to-urban migration is closely related to the inequalities between the rural and urban sectors, further discussion of the issue will be undertaken in the section on Inequality of Region.

It should be noted that there is no considerations of land reform in the textbooks surveyed. As explained in the introduction to the present category, land reforms experienced in the early 50's could be a primary reason for the absence of this matter in the textbooks.

In conclusion, modernization of the agricultural sector has resulted in its marginalization, especially in comparison to the industrial sector. Emphasis on farmers' diligence and self-reliance was unduly advocated by the government under the name of the "Saemaul Movement". Although the movement has succeeded in producing a similar outlook for the rural sector as the 'modern' urban sector, this resulted in the subordination of the rural sector to the urban. The 85's and 90's textbooks merely repeat the superficial achievements of the Movement in the 70s. Furthermore, the negative representations of the rural sector as "troublesome" and "difficult" can be regarded as limiting the critical thinking of students by interfering in the treatment of the subject from the beginning. In conclusion, the rural sector was poorly treated in textbook content and in the the nation's modernization project as well.

4. Industrialization

This category is concerned with the growth and type of industry, and factors of production such as natural resources, capital and labour.

Production Factors: Natural Resources and Labour

It is true that Korea's industrialization has been constrained by insufficient natural resources. Textbooks in *1965 and 1990 present different perspectives on the supply of* necessary natural resources for Korean industry.

> Although some natural resources are available within the country, some others have to be imported from without. On this issue, we're trying to utilize as much as we can from within, but some things have to be imported. Therefore, we're striving to supply them in the form of foreign investment (65-SS-167).

> To secure natural resources on a steady basis, direct investment in developing countries, as a form of supply for us, is one strategy of supplementing our inadequate resources (91-SS3-144).

In the 60's, Korea had to rely on the development of natural resources by foreign investment due to a lack of capital to import materials for industrialization. But in the 90's texts, it is inferred that over the past three decades the country has accumulated enough capital to invest in other "developing countries" in order to maintain a steady supply of natural resources.

In comparison to natural resources, the country has an abundant supply of workers who are well-trained and diligent and equipped with a strong work ethic.

> There are many cases in which countries with few natural resources are far wealthier than others. From this fact, wisdom, effort and perseverance are the more useful assets than natural resources and the environment (75-SS3-233).

This excerpt attempts to inspire the people in order to compensate for Korea's adverse situation in the industrialization process. A later textbook (91-SS3-68) also acknowledges the potential of human resources in contributing to growth, and notes the quality of education and low illiteracy rate in Korea.

Production Factors: Capital

As indicated earlier in the natural resources section, Korea has experienced difficulties due to its lack of capital. As a result, the textbook have attempted to instill the value of thriftiness in building up national capital for industrialization. The 1965 textbook identifies foreign aid as an invaluable source for economic development (SS3-252,275,285). At the same time, the text identifies three other ways (65-SS3-168) of meeting capital demands: 1) saving; 2) borrowing from other countries; and 3) inducing foreign capital through an international loan, or direct investment from a foreign company. In subsequent years, saving money and reducing individual expenditures to accumulate national capital (86-SS3-291).

Despite high savings, in order to obtain foreign capital, Korea had to keep borrowing from other countries. Discussion of this issue continues under the heading of of Foreign Economic Relations, which encompasses the broader issues of foreign investment and aid.

Growth of Industry

Owing to its rapid growth, Korea has attained the status of an NIC (Newly Industrializing Country) but Korea's initial aim for industrialization was not so ambitious.

> So far, our nation claimed to be an agrarian country, but an ever-growing population forced us to realize that we cannot be a self-sufficient economy, based on agriculture alone. (. . .) Because it is impossible to expand arable land beyond certain limits, transforming the economic structure from an agricultural to an industrial base, and exporting manufactured products to other countries while importing agricultural products in return, is necessary (65-SS3-227-8).

The transformation of Korea from an agrarian to an industrially-based economy was recognized as imperative to meet its basic needs (65-SS3-121). The identification of industrialization as the whole nation's project illustrates the contrasting attitude with rural development, which was identified as 'their' own project.

> Those advanced countries in Europe and the US usually have their industry structure comprised of 10% primary, 45% secondary, and 45% tertiary industries. Through the development of manufacturing industries, we must shift our industry structure towards increasing the percentage of secondary industry (65-SS3-103-4).

The desperate need to industrialize was identified in the desire to attain the status of the advanced countries. This message continued through to the 85's (84-SS1-284). In short, industrialization was the 'Absolute Order' of the country, despite the problems this engendered .

> A modern society is already industrialized, or at least approaching it. This is why industrialization is the most crucial engine for social development (86-SS3-320).

To further bolster the country's industrialization, the textbook conveyed promising image of the process. For instance, textbooks claimed that the achievement of industrialization would produce a self-sufficient economy (75-SS3-170), larger incomes (75-SS3-117, 169) and a higher standard of living (65-SS1-27).

Despite this push to industrialization, recognition of the problems caused by industrialization is evident in textbooks published between 1975 to the 1990's. For example, textbooks highlighted the issues of unbalanced industrial development (86-SS3-297), the problem of social inequality between the economic sectors (75-SS3-155), geographical location, pollution, and conflict in foreign trade (91-SS3-73).

Before discussing industrialization in more detail, it is necessary to mention strategically targeted types of industry.

Industry Type

Textbooks reveal different strategies for developing certain types of industry over the period.

> Countries like ours with a large population and scarce resources should survive by stimulating the processing trade, which imports primary products, and processes them for export. We must expand this processing trade as well as industrial development (65-SS1-133).

While conveying the message that the country's industrialization will be achieved by an export-oriented industry, i.e. processing trade (the term used in that epoch), this and later textbooks (65-SS3-127) smooth the road for the emergence of big industry (Chaebol) in the name of international competitiveness.

> Our industry consists of vast portions of small industries. This fact indicates a fragmented situation, like that of the agricultural sector (65-SS1-128).

> Big industries can produce cost effective products from its massive scale of production machinery and facilities, and purchase the resources at a lower cost because of large quantities and easy loans from the banks. In those terms, the small industries are at a disadvantage and less competitive, therefore those are usually amalgamated by the big industry or fail (75-SS3-103).

One could argue that the development of big industry was due more to the negative image given to small industry rather than a complementary relationship between these images. This 'balanced' perspective approached only later in the 1985 and 1990 textbooks. In addition to big industry, the 1975 textbooks strongly endorsed the presidential (Park's) initiatives for developing heavy-chemical industries (HCI), which was later used as an excuse for the two oil crises in the Seventies.

> Above all, the industry structure mostly concentrates on light industry, therefore centering on consumer products industries. Most production facilities, such as machineries etc., are dependent on imports. For promoting industrialization, the heavy-chemical industry must be urgently built up (75-SS3-161).

The shift from light to heavy industry was introduced in the 75's textbooks (SS1-113). Such descriptions of small industry as an insignificant part of the economy began to change in the 84's textbooks (SS1-299), which strongly advocated "the need for 'healthy' development of the small factories as the backbone of industrialization". Recognising that the continued growth of big industry (Chaebol) constituted most of the growth in GNP from the late 80's, textbook references only convey rhetorical aspects about economic development. If the textbooks from 1985 to 1990 aimed to establish a balanced argument about the relationship between large and small industry, then it should also have brought up 'real' facts, i.e. the shared responsibility for growth in the gross national product between the two types of industry.

In the 1990's textbooks, there is a justification of the HCI drive as a necessary stage of industrial development; however, high-tech industry is seen as the way to future industrialization is also highlighted (91-SS3-75, 84). That is, the reason for selecting an export-oriented type of economy in the early 60's was finally explained in the 1990's textbook (91-SS3-69) with a more balanced perspective explaining the overall problems of that type of growth. Similarly, problems which arose as a result of the massive influx of foreign capital for building the HCI in the 70s to 80s, was not discussed until the 1990's textbooks (91-SS3-73). Although the 1990's book offers after the fact justification for earlier policies, it fails to offer justification for the new push to High tech industry. Once more industrial policy is promoted without discussion of why such a policy is pursued and without a balanced discussion of both positive and negative consequences. In short, when the 1990's textbook introduced the new high tech policy and presented it as if it did not have any negative effects, it again presented a one-sided view of the policy.

So far, the various types of industry and their relations have been identified and described. The following story elucidates the desired orientation to Korean industrialization.

> **World-expanding Korean Economy**
>
> " How pretty it is" Nomi(a girl) was admiring a doll, its white clothes and gloves and a white hat. It was a gift from her uncle, who had been to Hong Kong on a business trip.
>
> "Look at those lines and colors, isn't that beautiful and elegant? It has an artistic value." Nomi's mother, who was besides her, ventured.
>
> "The person who made this doll might have looked like the doll. (S)He might have a pair of clear blue eyes with blond hair like those of the dolls," Nomi muttered, entranced by the toy.
>
> " Well, do you think so?," Uncle asked. Nomi wasn't sure about Uncle's words. Wondering what it meant, Nomi watched his face as Uncle broke into a smile.
>
> Mother, who smiled too, told Nomi, " Look up the label. I think you can read English as a Junior High School student?"
>
> " Gee, this is "Made-in-Korea". Nomi was surprised. It was a Korean product.
>
> Uncle replied, " That's it. You told me that it might have been made by a person with blue eyes and blonde hair, didn't you?"
>
> Nomi was shameful. How naive to assume that this fine quality doll sold in the international city of Hongkong would be a foreign product Yet, it was a joyful feeling on the one hand since our product was the best!

Nomi hung her head in shame, but felt something bursting with pride in her heart. It was the kind of feeling like when we watched our sports team, victorious in international competitions on the TV or Screen News, or whenever our "Taeguk-Ki" (national flag) flew in the skies of VietNam. What proud and honorable feelings! Nomi was so excited that she had forgotten her mistake just a minute ago, and looked at her uncle. Uncle smiled; the smile was not a bashful one, but one that was as joyful as her heart.

"By the way, it is strange, why did you bother to buy it that far away and not in Korea?"

Pointing to the wrapped paper, Uncle replied. " I paid several times more than the price that you can find in Korea. But I wanted to give you our products wrapped in foreign paper. I thought that price was not a factor."

Nomi gently nodded.

Mother, listening beside, asked. "I don't think Hongkong is the only country that we're exporting to. What other countries are there?"

" Most countries, excluding the Communist countries. Lots of our products are exported to the UK, US and West Germany[2], including various countries in Africa and Asia."

" Oh, Uncle, what products other than dolls are exported?

" Let me see. There are too many to count. Tuna, plywood, cloth, shoes, and electronic products such as radios and machinery, etc. Not only are our export items diversifying, but the amount of exports are growing. Besides, our experts are recognized as excellent workers in the world. Though we are a small country, our people have outstanding talent and determination. When we work together with our perseverance and pride, our nation will expand all over the world."

While listening to Uncle's words, Nomi felt proud of her country.

Study Points

1. The expansion of exports brings us two benefits. What are they?
2. Let's discuss the reason that the government strongly promoted exports to the amount of $10 billion in the 1980s (75-ME-128-31)

The story, followed by the study points, explicitly teaches that Korean export is progressing and needs to be sustained in the future. More importantly, everyone should be proud of its progress.

Based on this prime presupposition, a further reading of the implicit messages in the story reveals the hidden ideology behind industrialization based on export-oriented economic growth. First, the preference towards a Western image is obvious, not only in the description of the doll but also in the way the doll itself is appreciated. Specifically, the color of the doll is 'symbolic'; white is clearly presented in the clothing of the doll, in her dress, gloves and hat, and white is symbolic of beauty and elegance. This enchantment with the "Western" image and ideal conveys the strongly favored value of identifying with the West.

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[2] Germany was a divided country in 1975.

Taking these two points in conjunction, Nomi's initial observation about the person who made the doll and her later realization that the doll was made in Korea, suggests that "Western" is the standard of quality, and the criterion of value, especially in the estimation of the dollar value of exports. Hence, the appropriate standard for industrialization will be achieved when we can make something as good as 'theirs'.

Secondly, the export industry is identified as the crucial factor in industrialization. The realization that Korean products can be found in an international showcase city such as Hong Kong is a very significant, so much so that the text even emphasized the proof of the 'foreign' wrapping paper. Above all, the second point of study does not explicitly ask for free comment on nor identification of the disadvantages inherent to export-oriented industrialization, but simply highlights its two 'good' benefits. As a consequence, it promotes a one-sided view on this government policy.

Thirdly, the rise of Korea as an exporting nation is presented as an opportunity for rejoicing and national pride. These emotions are compared to two other cases, for example, that of winning in international sports competitions and the flying of the national flag in Vietnam (due to the dispatch of Korean troops in the Vietnam War). This content represents the state as the symbol of unity and thereby commands students' patriotism so that they will willingly participate in economic development.

Fourthly, the story teaches the political economy of exports, especially with the selection of the trading countries which overtly excludes the communist countries. This reflects the extraordinary direction of the government, even to the point of choosing its trading partners. This point is further emphasized in the first study point where the textbook elucidates that the government sets the goal for the amount of exports and the countries to which Korea will export.

With reference to story format, the textbook does not forget to be 'textbookish' by delivering the 'sermon' at the end of the story, claiming that we must work hard together. However, a critical interpretation of this message does not really mean 'working together'. Rather, it should be interpreted as saying that everybody should follow, without question, the government policy of industrialization.

In summary, textbooks represent the task of industrialization as a 'national' project that seeks every citizen's commitment. The growth of industry and thereby the growth of the country is identified as the achievement of an export-oriented economy. In fact, textbooks do not present an overall picture on how the export-oriented economy works. In addition, in setting the goal of exports to a certain amount of money, usually in American dollar terms, the texts have engendered a one-sided view on this type of economic growth which is measured in material terms only.

5. Foreign Economic Relations

This section examines foreign investment and aid, foreign technology transfer and foreign trade with other nations.

Foreign Aid

Because foreign aid is considered a 'past' issue from the 60's and 70's, it is appropriate to begin with a discussion of it. The 1965 textbook focuses on the results of foreign aid and its efficient use for industrialization.

> When we do not squander away this aid from our ally, and do our best to utilize it efficiently, then our economic growth appears promising (65-SS3-285).

> Due to larger imports than exports, our country continued to suffer a trade deficit but the cost was covered by US aid and loans from foreign countries (75-SS3-165).

Such content about foreign aid is evident primarily in the 1965 textbook (65-SS1-117). Here discussion focuses on the Japanese Marine Cooperation Fund and on American and other allied nations aids (65-SS3-275, 285) during the post Korean war economic construction period. The content fails to indicate the overall effect of foreign aid on the industrialization process. As a consequence of this development aid, the Americans heavily influenced and intervened in Korean economic policy. This information is found only in later textbooks.

Foreign Investment

Due to a lack of domestic capital, Korea invited foreign capital in any form.

> The fact that the foreign capitalist would invest in us under a promising condition of good credit makes us very delighted that capital from various advanced countries is now pouring into our country (65-ME-198).

While the textbook welcomed foreign capital investment in Korea, it also cautioned against the introduction of foreign capital even given the nation's situation.

> When underdeveloped countries are trying to build a new industry, they require foreign capital. Thereby, they are trying to get rid of industrialization barriers caused by a lack of national capital. Likewise, mutual economic relations are centered around the import of capital. From the receiving country's viewpoint, what should be considered, is that the country should take on a welcoming stand while simultaneously taking caution against falling into the clutches of foreign investors (65-SS3-272-3).

This was a unique point of departure in which Korea distinguished itself from other developing countries, in rendering its economic control to foreign investment. It is important to note that the textbooks instructed students to be wary of foreign investors, but without specification of the dangers these pose. Not until the textbook of 1986 are foreign loans seen as problematic.

> Thirdly, the lessening of foreign dependence matters. By relying upon foreign aid prior to the (Five-Year) Economic Development Plan, and on foreign exports and loans after the Plan, the Korean economy became greatly dependent on foreign countries, and this problem still continues (86-SS3-301).

Regarding the overall impact of massive foreign loans[3], the consequent problems of domestic inflation and stagnation are not enumerated until the 1990's (91-SS3-73,70). This information, given in the 1986 and 1991 textbooks is not evident in the 1965 textbooks which had cautioned against foreign investment.

Foreign Technology

In addition to foreign capital, foreign technology has been integral to Korea's industrialization process. The transfer of foreign technology into the country was justified by the reality of the North Korean situation.

> Due to the closed policy, there are a lot of constraints in introducing the advanced countries' capital and technology. North Korea lags behind and is low in productivity,and thus has no economic growth. Likewise, as long as the North Korean Communist Party maintains a closed society, it will be hard to accept the capital and technology of the advanced countries, and they will never emerge from their stagnation (84-ME-263).

This clearly implies the belief that the transferance of advanced technology to the nation presupposes economic growth.

> We imported the foreign capital and technology that was needed in the process of an export-oriented industrialization. (. . .) In terms of technology, we were able to achieve rapid economic growth, because we actively introduced advanced technology (91-SS3-69-70).

The above extract legitimates the nation's receipt of foreign technology as well as the superior value of advanced countries' technology. This viewpoint can be expected to continue into the future because of Korea's drive towards high-technology industrialization.

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[3] As of 1988, the foreign debt of Korea was 31,500 million in US$ (Song, 1990:61).

It is important to note that the textbooks, on the one hand, convey the need for foreign technology and note its beneficial impact on economic growth (86-SS1-288,91-SS3-70). On the other hand, they emphasize the need for technological development within the nation (65-SS3-276-7, 91-SS3-78-9,161). What the textbooks do not expose is the background to the discussion, i.e., the heavy dependence on foreign technology. While it is true that the 1985 textbook pointed out some weaknesses of the Korean economy's dependence on foreign capital and technology, it is not enough to paint an accurate picture of the present situation in which Korea is increasingly dependent on Japanese technology. This will be analyzed in the following section.

Foreign Trade

Since Korea's economic growth is dependent upon foreign trade, the textbook content about Korea's trade relationships must be analyzed. Textbook descriptions not only reflect the different strategies for trade, but also the different value orientations underlying such strategies.

Textbooks from 1965 and 1975 emphasized the issue of 'export' as the imperative task of the nation (65-SS3-136, 75-SS3-164), and targeted the following nations as good trading partners.

> Our trading partners are Japan and the U.S. Among the exports in 1964, 32.1% was to Japan and 29.9% was to the U.S. In our imports, 50% of total imports was from the U.S and 27.2% from Japan. Therefore, these two countries are the best trading partners for our country (65-SS1-133).

> The trading partners are increasing up to over a hundred countries, and our exports are expanding to all over the world. Yet, recent exports to the U.S. and Japan account for two thirds of the total amount of exports (75-SS3-162).

The textbooks regarded these two countries as the major trading partners and give little attention to the effects of this 'too close' relationship. This limited perspective on trading relationships can also be found in the naming of trading countries in the world (65-SS3-273-4) including the countries of Asia, Europe, America, and Oceania. What is missing in the array of countries of each continent was any mention of specific African countries. The extreme preference for certain trading partners in the 1965 and 1975 textbooks changes in the recent textbooks.

> As another characteristic, we have relied mainly on the U.S for our exports of processed products and our imports of machinery, and primary products necessary to the processing production have come mainly from Japan (91-SS3-77).

That this preference for the US and Japan might be seen as a weakness of Korean economic growth in hinted at in this 1991 textbook.

> \- Major Learning Activities -
> 1. Let's examine what our major products are in the processing trade.
> 2. Let's examine how the trade balance with the U.S has changed since the 1960s, and similarly with Japan (91-SS3-80).

Although this sounds like an 'open' discussion about our trade relationships with the two trade giants, the major learning activities described above merely justify all the previous approaches to the issue. While asking students to 'THINK' about the major trade items of the processing industry, the textbook already 'clearly' defines the boundaries of thinking by delineating a specific type of trade. Although the question does not attempt to declare that the two countries are the best countries, a critical reading of the question again reveals that the description failed to expand thinking to countries beyond the two giants. Thus, the textbook's treatment of the issue results in the preservation of the status quo.

Textbooks, while still attempting to justify preferential trading relationships with the two countries, present other messages incongruent to this earlier attitude. The following excerpt might be a clue for explaining this change in the recent textbooks.

> When we take a look at the US' attitude in coping with its trade conflict, the US attempts to restrain imports from our country by sanctions on the one side, and strongly demands the full opening of our market to them on the other side (91-SS3-78)

It is easy to detect the strong tone of estrangement that results in the light of protectionism in industrialized nations. In the 1960's, textbooks promoted the image of the US as a good friend who helped Korea, and as one of the two best trading partners. However, the above extract depicts the US as selfish, and even unfair, to Korea. Considering the fact that most textbook content regarding the West had been favorable to this point, such content is quite a change from the former stance.

With regards to trade imbalance, Korea's trade with the US is not a real issue, at least in the textbooks. From the above textbook (91-SS3-160), the diagrams of Korea's trade balance with each country in the world reveal that Korea's trade surplus from the US equals the amount of trade deficit to Japan. In a sense, this can also be interpreted as Korea's trade deficit to Japan is balanced by its trade surplus from the US. In fact, Korea's trade (economic) relationship with Japan is a more vital factor in Korea's trade balance than that of Korea's trade relationship with the US. However, textbooks do not explicate this dependence on Japan perhaps, because of uneasiness with regard to Japan's colonial past in Korea. In short, between these two issues, i.e. exports and imports which are closely identified with the US and Japan, the textbook only highlights the export aspect and thus links the issue to the US.

As one way of coping with the rising wall of trade protectionism, the textbooks reflect another change.

> It is very important to maintain and develop friendly relations, based on sincerity, with the developing countries which hold resources and have supplementary relations with us; thus not following the footsteps of the advanced countries (86-SS3-305).

> Today, the countries that our country must explore as its market are the underdeveloped countries (91-SS3-79).

As Korea's relationship with the US has soured slightly, a more cautious approach is evident towards the advanced countries. Attention is refocused on establishing relationships with the underdeveloped countries. This is reflected in Korea's growing economic relations with other countries.

> Having developed to the rank of the 10th largest trading country in the world, Korea is increasing its cooperation with various countries of the world, not only by exporting our products, but also by sending our technology and trained labor to all over the world. Recently, we have expanded our relations and initiated a mutual investment with China, the Soviet Union and the socialist countries of Eastern Europe (91-SS3-252).

Following world trends, i.e., the collapse of the communist bloc and Korea's Northern Policy[4], Korea has started to open its trade doors to the communist countries such as China, the Soviet Union and the Eastern European Bloc (86-SS3-215,91-SS3-161) which had not been allowed before. As the international trade mood turns towards a global economy, the textbook predicts the inevitable opening up of the nation's market.

> We must open our markets more. In this case, we require a certain type of industry with high quality technology that is not yet competitive enough. Thus, the market opening of the industry should be handled with deliberation. In lieu of this opening of our market, we must strengthen the international competitiveness of the industry (91-SS3-80).

The content conveys the future tasks of Korea, i.e., the opening of its markets to the world on the one hand and the raising of its competitiveness on the other hand. Amidst this globalizing economy, Korea seems to be caught in the middle, having to balance its needs for an open market that is at the same time protected to some degree.

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[4] The Northern Policy was initiated by President Tae-woo Roh in 1988 as one way of legitimating Korea's political-economic relationship with these communist countries.

> Trade Policy: our country supports free-trade in principle. However, for goods which are not competitive enough, we take protective measures for the infant industry, and when it is regarded as competitive enough, we promote a free-trade policy. As the way of protectionist measures, tariffs and imports prohibition are necessary. Regarding certain industries, the protective trade policy is taken not as a protective measure for the infant industry, but as security and/or a non-economic measure (86-SS3-290).

The above content can be simply seen as the issue of protectionism appearing within the free trade trends of the epoch. However, when it is reviewed in the context of the US-Korea trade friction as mentioned earlier (91-SS3-78), the textbook justifies Korea's policy of protectionism while seeing American protectionism as detrimental and even fatal to the Korean economy.(91-SS3-60). This is a clear example of the textbook's justification of a certain perspective, although it engenders contradiction.

In summary, the textbooks briefly mention the issue of foreign aid in 1965 and 1975, and describe the US favorably. Concerning the influx of foreign capital, either through investment or loans, the textbooks deliberately emphasize the necessity of foreign capital for national development. While making cautious remarks about foreign investment, the textbook did not similarly guard against the loans Korea received and, upon which it became greatly dependent. Likewise, while the earlier textbooks convey the need for foreign capital, they do not describe the country's need for local technological development. Today, however, Korea is heavily dependent upon foreign technology, especially Japanese technology. Due to Korea's export-orientation, the textbook emphasizes strong ties with foreign countries. The 1965 and 1975 textbooks clearly deliver the message that the US and Japan are the best trading partners possible and this message has been perpetuated throughout two decades.

As protectionist practices grew around the world, the textbook began to direct its attention to the "underdeveloped countries, and even to communist countries, thus indicating Korea's capitalization on the world situation. Along with these changes, the textbook also became more critical of the American attitude towards Korea. This description of Korea's relationship with the US provides only a partial understanding of the subject of foreign trade, since the textbook omits the issue of its heavy trade deficit to Japan which was more crucial for understanding Korea's trade balance.

6. Role of the State

This category is concerned with the influence of government on the modernization process and the relations between the state and the capitalist class. The analysis will begin with the government's involvement in economic development process.

On Economic Development

From its inception, the Korean government assumed an active leadership in the nation building process.

> The nature of the modern economic system demands that the state cannot but assume various roles. The state is concerned with economic activities such as adopting the role as a direct builder of industry, assisting the civil industry, and facilitating smooth economic activities (65-SS3-157).

Undoubtedly, the role of the state was clearly focused on building a national economy, so that economic order could be restored after the Korean war. By 1965, the commitment of the state to the economic sphere is directed in the following way.

> In order to get out of Korea's underdeveloped economic state, and to let people enjoy an affluent living, the government must encourage people to pursue industrious and efficient economic activities. At the same time, the government must take a full and active leadership role in building industries, which have a great impact on the whole nation and the people (65-SS3-165).

The government must not only assume responsibility to mobilize economic development but also promote its activities to the people.

> Therefore, when the government is carrying out the economic plan, it should not ignore its enlightening effort in informing the people of the principle of the plan (65-SS3-169).

It is evident that the relationship of the government and the people to economic development is not on equal terms. The people become the passive receivers of the state plan. The government's role is comparable to that of a ruler or 'parental' care-giver; the people's role is that of children. This orients students to the necessity of national consensus and acceptance of the government's political leadership for the final purpose of inculcating students to become followers of the government.

Whereas the 1965 textbook tells of a government singlemindedly devoted to building the nation's economy, the 1975 textbooks emphasizes the necessity of another government role in service for the nation.

> In the experiences of our country, national defense, financial investment, and loans for economic development are our largest expenditures. These facts indicate that

> the government is striving towards national defense and economic development (75-SS3-134).

This message defines national defense as an important task for the government, and allocates a large expenditure for this agenda. It also orients student to the type of economy that should be led by the state. Economic backwardness, in conjunction with dangling the "Sword of Damocles[5]" above the nation reinforces the role of the state. As Thomas (1984: 119-123) noted, "poverty and economic backwardness, in conjunction with the rapid expansion of the 'modernizing' and developmental functions of the state, encouraged the promotion of the state as the symbol of unity amid diversity and poverty". Thus, the textbook emphasizes the need for cooperation by capitalizing upon the unique situation in the country (75-SS3-44).

In textbooks from 1986 and 1990, the agenda for government 'leadership" has intensified.

> In a mixed economy, the government actively intervenes in private economic activities. For instance, the government takes part in the improvement of income distribution, labor conditions, the protection of the consumer, the introduction of a social welfare system etc.; anything mainly related to the people's well-being. In addition, the government drafted an economic development plan for rapid economic growth, direct involvement in investment, and provides civil industries with investment resources. Therefore, the government under a mixed economic system needs an enormous amount of funds. (86-SS3-274-5)

As time passes, the role of government increases. While the 1975 textbook emphasized national defense as one of the most important roles played by government, the 1986 textbook added welfare. Owing to the growing role of government, the message also conveyed to the student the necessity for government intervention in order to secure people's well-being and the concomitant need for a growing expenditures to fulfill this function. The content skillfully serves to politically legitimate the military regime by highlighting its role of serving the nation in the areas of economy and social welfare.

This same text also muses on the creation of the welfare state.

> In modern societies, the demands of the people are ever-increasing and people are getting impatient. The State power is so solidified that everybody assumes that none but the state would be able to solve the problems in protecting the individuals rights and meeting their needs. Consequent to these trends from the West, the state

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[5] Damocles - a flatterer who pronounced Dionysius I, tyrant of Syracuse, to be the happiest of Men. Dionysius then invited him to experience the happiness of a monarch whereupon Damocles observed a naked sword hanging over his head by a single hair. Thus, the South Korean government can only gain the legitimacy and respect of the people by constantly invoking the threat of North Korea .

> is fully or partially responsible for the basic needs of individuals and their stability. Thus, one assumes the welfare state came into being in order to care for the individual's well-being from the cradle to the grave (86-SS3-357).

The 'structural' importance of the government, which was regarded as significant for the overall society, signals the 'modern' syndrome of Korean society undergoing rapid change. This text reflects 'modernized' society in terms of people's increasing isolation from each other, and their dependency on institutionalized protection for their well-being without locating the genesis of the welfare state in the industrialization of the economy. An examination of the government's relationship to the capitalist class gives some insight into the attempt to portray the state as acting for the common good of society and individuals.

The 1991 textbook elaborates the same messages found in previous textbooks.

> As economic standards improved, the government increased its expenditures, shifting from economic development to education, housing and health care and other social services, and introduced the National Pension Plan in 1988. In supplying the fund for the government's economic activities, a higher tax for the rich and a special consumption tax on extravagant consumption was imposed. In contrast, the government waived the tax on lower incomes. Thus, the government improved income distribution and expanded welfare funds in order to secure a stable society (91-SS3-53-54).

Later this same text describes the necessity for government's strong intervention role during the period of rapid economic development, (91-SS3-67,73). These explanations serve to legitimate government intervention in all aspects of economic and social life. Because Korea was striving to achieve an economic miracle, a strong government was required. Further, in order to achieve a welfare society that distributes the benefits of economic development, society again requires a strong government. Thus, the text portrays the image of government as benevolent and fair to everyone by committing itself to eliminating social inequality and thereby succeeding in securing the people's consent to political leadership. The above text illuminates how the government attempted "to secure its political hegemony by altering the system in ways favorable to groups whose support is needed, or creating a layer of relatively affluent citizens and thus somewhat politically quiescent workers" (Eagleton, 1991:112).

On The State's Relationship to the Capitalist Class

> While the economy is being built up, the capitalist is reluctant to invest in production. In order to achieve a stable economy, the vigorous investment of the capitalist is needed. However, the reverse is the reality, resulting in workers increasingly losing their jobs on the production line. In order to remove this evil, the state directly invests in important industries based upon the nation's economic purpose. In addition, when the capitalist intends to invest in a new industry, the

> state subsidizes or takes measures to exempt tax for a certain period for the industry (65-SS3-159).

Again, the textbook justifies the government's role, especially in its financial support for the capitalist class as being in the interests of the economy and the workers. Further:

> Because employment and labor is not only an important issue to the laborers themselves, but to the nation as well, the state sets up the policy to increase employment opportunities and endeavors to protect the workers (75-SS3-194).

All classes are watched over by government. The capitalist class receives subsidies and tax exemption while the laboring class receives employment opportunities and protection. The obviously differential treatment by the government towards the two groups is given a gloss of fairness.

The preeminent role of government in economic policy is reemphasized in current textbooks.

> As the 1970's approached, the government decided to produce the machinery and primary products that up to then had been imported from abroad, by implementing a similar policy supporting exports, and inducing the industrial group to invest in certain kinds of industry (91-SS3-73).

Importantly, the commanding role of government is portrayed once more as being in the interests of not just the capitalist class but of all Koreans.

> The role of the government is growing in deciding the location of factories these days. The government implements a supporting policy in order to build new factories in the underdeveloped zone. Therefore, by drafting a new industrial site or town plan, the government not only establishes various facilities necessary for industrial development, such as transportation, powers and utilities, but also tax exemptions and financial loans for the industry coming to these zones. Yet, when the factories are densely packed in one area, the living environment deteriorates, causing traffic congestion and pollution. Thus, the government plans and implements a policy to spread out those factories (90-SS3-153-4).

No mention is made to the problems of factories dating from earlier less "planned" development. Rather the government's regulatory role is confined to new development. In a similar vein, recent textbook material recognizes the conflicting interests between the monopoly of a few industries and the consumer's interests (91-SS3-50). This concern for the consumer whether recognition of the need to regulate industry is a new found interest.

In short, textbooks present images of government as a preeminence in the overall economic development process, and only later, as the independent regulatory body for social development.

Further Context for Legitimation

Considering that the government's close relationship to the industrial sector is so significant, one needs to review the depiction of the government's role in the rural sector. Above all, it should be mentioned that this subject particularly dominated the 1985 textbooks (ME-181-3, SS1-294, SS3-348), echoing messages about the benevolent role of the government in the 70s. In reflecting on the past, the 1984 Moral Education textbook identified the possible factors that contributed to rural development.

> The efficient leadership of government can be accounted for. Above all, the government as a leader, with its determination to free our rural sector from a 5,000 year old poverty, mobilized its administrative capabilities, motivated the farmers and encouraged and guided them to consolidate themselves (84-ME-181).

Government support for the rural sector is, however, rather more 'spiritual' than financial in substance, in contrast to the support given to the industrial sector. The representation of farmers as 'THEM' marks a distinction in the government's treatment. The excessive propaganda by government about the rural sector cannot be accepted as a vital contribution in the New Community Movement of the 1970s. Instead, the rural sector was exploited to emphasize this strong image of the government.

The further purpose of the textbooks in legitimating the necessity for a strong government image is found in the treatment of socialism versus capitalism.

> In order to eliminate the weaknesses while increasing the merits of capitalism, today's state actively interferes in the national economy in order to implement a policy to narrow the income gap and to control the economic cycle, by drafting an economic plan. We call this modern capitalism a 'modified' capitalism (75-SS3-144).

> Because the economic activities in socialist countries are under the control and management of the State, there is no civil business, and everyone merely assumes a semi-slave status (75-SS3-141).

The intervention of government in capitalism is justified in the name of correcting the problems of the system, whereas the government role in the socialism is depicted as having a detrimental impact on business as well as on individuals. These texts illustrate the deliberate attempt by education to legitimate any necessary value orientation from any context, even if it results in a contradiction.

In summary,the government of Korea is represented as the preeminent power in Korean society. The government is portrayed as an authority over the people in the sense that it is represented as a care-giver and a strong leader of the people. By mobilizing economic development in the 60s, acting as a guard for national defense in the 70s, and playing the benefactor of social welfare from the 80s and onwards, the government's role is legitimized and given substance.

Regarding its relationship to the capitalist class, textbooks clearly state that the Korean government strongly supported the capitalist class in order to achieve economic development. However, after economic growth was achieved, textbooks changed their emphasis from support of capitalism and economic growth to the depiction of the government as a regulatory agent, independent from any specific class. It is worth observing the context for legitimating the necessity of the rural development issue, and the comparison of capitalism and socialism. In the rural development context, while praising the achievement of the Saemaul Movement in the rural sector, a strong government role was given credit for promoting and thereby, bringing about, tangible outcomes. In the economic realm, capitalism was defended as a promising system only under the condition of government intervention and support both to promote development and rectify problems. In contrast, socialism was depicted as a fallacious system, primarily because the government commands economic development. Accordingly, it endorses the standpoint that the government's role in society is crucial for bringing about development only in a capitalist context.

7. Environment and Development

This category is concerned with the issues of environmental conservation, destruction, and sustainable development. For the analysis of textbook content on this subject, the following assumptions need to be explicated. First, the environmental issue is not an isolated issue, confined to nature only. Instead, nature is in an interactive relationship with human beings and with itself in an ecosystem. Secondly, environment is not a special issue related to a certain category of people, such as government policy-makers or industry owners, but is an issue that commands everyone's concern. Lastly, the issue is not restricted to a certain region or country any longer. It is now a global issue. The reason for formulating these assumptions is to identify the viewpoints which are 'highlighted', in order to read the 'unpresented' side of the issue.

Relation between human beings and nature

First of all, the 1965 textbooks contrast with later textbooks in that there are no separate sections devoted to this issue. Due to the scattered content about environmental issues, which is often interwoven with the idea of national development, most of the following content was collected from the section entitled " Impending Issues of the Nation", a chapter concerned with population issues, industrial development and economic development. The Foreword to the 1965 textbook states.

> 1. Through the 'proper'[6] understanding of the relations between human living and the natural environment, the textbook aims to be unbiased towards so-called environmentalism. (. . .)
> 4. The goal is to pay attention to efficient nature utilization, as well as to promote the students' attitude to preserve and protect nature. (65-SS1-Forward)

The way the information and knowledge is organized already connotes that environmental concerns were not of foremost importance in what was taught to the students. Although the fourth point tries to present a balanced perspective on the development and protection of nature, the implication is given to an anti-environmentalist position. The above message is also implied in the five items of the National Development Project, arranged in the following order; (1) resource development and its utilization: (2) placement of industries: (3) placement of community: (4) transportation: and lastly (5) conservation of land (65-SS1-119). This arrangement of priorities supports the thesis that the environmental concern was merely included in the textbook according to the standards of "political correctness" of the era. The relationship between human beings and nature is illustrated in the following content excerpt.

> In order to utilize the small territory and scarce resources efficiently, planned development is essential. For instance, when we build a dam up the river for power generation, an overall plan for the river valley is needed in order not to cause any inconvenient shortage of irrigation water to the farms down-river. (. . .) If an artificial lake appears due to building the dam, we must consider measures for the people who once lived in the village, now submerged under water (65-SS1-118).

The content implies that the development project treats the inseparable relations between nature and man as a partial issue, narrowed down to a description of development projects where people's differing interests are entangled. The text asserts that when we build a dam, we should care about the people farming down the river and the people who are leaving the village which disappears underwater. In short, what is absent in the discussion of this subject is the voice of nature, that is 'inaudible'. The consequence of development in nature, which usually results in its transformation, was completely excluded from the 1965 textbook. As can be seen, the 1965 textbook purposely focused on the human benefits to be gained from development.

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[6] my ' '

> Taking advantage of the shallow coast, which is not very deep, we must reclaim the land and eventually change it into rice paddies. (. . .) By developing this land by reclamation, we can increase our rice productivity, thereby reaching self-sufficiency in food supplies (65-SS1-55).

In addition to this utilitarian orientation towards nature, the textbooks do sound a few alarms about environmental destruction.

> Recently, due to the excessive use of chemical manure, and farmers' reluctant use of organic compost for the farm land, the soil acidity is increasing (65-SS1-94).
>
> In order to protect the forest, we must not deforest carelessly, but work for anti-erosion, extermination of vermin on the one hand, reforest and make a balance between the fell and growing speed must be considered as another aspect (65-SS1-113).

Nevertheless, as the quotations indicate, environmental protection is still valued primarily in the context of continuing exploitation of resources. Hence, the textbooks do not present a holistic understanding of environmental issues and problems. Rather, students are taught that technologies and other modernization strategies can limit or reverse environmental damage.

> The indented arable land is getting arranged and turned into an all-weather farm land, free from natural disaster. Once naked mountains are getting greener, and multi-purpose dams are under construction for the purpose of supplying power, water and protection from flood and drought (75-SS1-96).
>
> Though the thermoelectric power plants partially use anthracite coal, most of them run on oil. Someday, when the nuclear power plant is completed near Pusan, the modernization of the energy source will be anticipated in our country (75-SS1-111).

Similar to the content demonstrated earlier, the 1975 textbook limited its descriptions to favorable outcomes of development understood in terms of human benefits, for example, in the benefit of power and running water. In dealing with nuclear energy, the textbook never mentions the potential dangers that could result from the use of nuclear energy in the country.

Environmental concerns are not evident in the context of educational knowledge until the mid 1980's. The perspective in the earlier textbooks of 1965 and 1975 that humans dominate over nature can be contrasted with the following:

> If man unconsciously develops and exploits nature, then it is destroyed and it is impossible to recover from that destruction. Therefore, when developing nature, we must carefully plan while protecting nature, so that we can achieve both

> conservation and improvement of our living standard at the same time (84-SS1-336-7).
>
> The natural environment, when polluted, destroyed and when transformed, is getting 'problematic'. For example, forest clearing, reclamation of tidal land and building of dams brings lots of advantages to one side, but causes a loss on the other side. Deforestation by land development easily causes floods, mountain slides, soil erosion, etc., as well as a decrease in oxygen supply. The tidal land functions as farm and waste processing for the sea by decomposing the organic materials that are reached by the tide. When the tidal lands disappear, the ecosystem will be changed. In addition, by building huge dams, wide areas disappear under water and weather changes occur, such as foggy weather and lower temperatures, etc. Although industrial development and similar projects are necessary for our economic growth and higher living standard, we must pay careful attention in order to minimize the destruction of the natural environment (91-SS3-187).

The above statements show greater sensitivity to sustainable development and to foster a balance between humans and nature and between government and the people on environmental issue. In particular, the 1991 textbook described the interactive relations between human beings and nature towards a more 'holistic' terms. Compared to the 1965 textbook context, textbooks in the 1990 began to foster a more 'appropriate' understanding about the environment.

Concern of government and/or people

It is possible to see the strong presence of government regarding environmental concerns in the 1975 textbook.

> Environment Protection Policy: Factories, power plants and transportation excessively discharge polluted air. Therefore, government imposes special regulations against the fumes and waste water, as well as constraints on factories from building around cities and constructing heavy industrial sites on the coast and seeks basic policy measures on these issues. Also government, not only devises proper measures to protect our natural environment in advance and carries out the measures. (. . .) Furthermore, by establishing a school and research institute for the study of environmental issues, government is prepared for conservation in the future (75-SS3-237).

The above content seems to show that the government assumed a major role in the protection of the environment as well as in overall national development. In fact, the Korean government of the '70s was a military regime which searched out issues that would help to create a favorable image for a benevolent and politically 'correct' leadership to disguise its political illegitimacy.

The overemphasized role of government in environmental issues has resulted in people's negligence, by making conservation a duty solely of the government. As in the case of economic development, the textbook represented the environmental subject merely from the standpoint of a political agenda for securing leadership, without any relevant explanation of the consequence of pollution to the environment itself. The subject of environment in the 1975 textbook was simply exploited for ideological purposes to strengthen the image of government and the necessity of state control.

The tone of the description around the issue was also greatly oriented towards a powerful image of the military regime at that time. While mentioning the expansion of cities, housing shortages, and urban air and water pollution, the following content implies the 'need' for central control.

> The setting of limited development districts distanced 15 - 20 km from the city center prevents the excessive gravitation of population to the city, pollution and the chaotic explosion of city boundaries (75-SS1-26).

Although the 'actual' subject, controlling the development of districts, disappears in the passive voice of the sentence, it is possible to identify that there is regulation concerning environmental issues, throughout the 1975 textbooks.

The following content illustrates how the problems of the dominance of government over the people is resolved.

> In order to lessen pollution, which aggravates the modernization process, the industry related to environment pollution as well as people strive in their endeavor for conservation and pollution prevention with proper awareness of the environment (84-SS1-338).

The 1984 textbook, while resolving the relations between the government, people, and nature, still avoids a global perspective. To some degree, the textbook content did raise consciousness of environmental preservation within the national boundaries, but it did not expand its scope to a global scale. Principally, the 1991 textbook has introduced a global perspective on the issue by introducing 'the only earth' concept (91-SS3-188-9).

> Our country, while attempting economic growth through industrialization, neglected environmental problems. The beautiful natural environment is getting polluted and destroyed. People have the right to live in a clean environment, as well as having their responsibility for its protection (91-SS3-188).

For the first time, the 1991 textbook states that Korea's environmental pollution has reached a serious stage (91-SS3-186). The above points out how environmental concerns, presented in the 1991 textbooks, impose "preservation as a duty", as a strong value, rather than as an issue designed to promote a 'critical' understanding of humans and nature in an interactive ecosystem. Furthermore, the textbooks approximate a balanced perspective on the subject of the environment, but are still mute on the potential dangers of nuclear energy (91-SS3-141).

The next content presents the nation's future direction in the process of balancing economic development and environmental concerns.

> We have to solve problems such as the wide gap between rich and poor, labor conflicts, imbalance of small industries, and environmental pollution which occurred during economic development. We must build a high industry society by strengthening the cooperative economic ties between both the developing, as well as with the advanced countries (91-SS3-86).

Despite the critical discussion in the 1991 textbook, it is apparent that the nation still values growth over and above environmental concerns.

In summary, the analysis of the textbooks based upon the three relational standpoints reveals a widening scope of analysis of the relationship, from man's narrow viewpoint outwards to a more global perspective. The 1965 textbook focused on a human versus nature relationship where the environment issue was considered from the basis of meeting the basic needs of people, like power and water. As an index of the value placed on the issue, the textbook did not even include a separate section dealing with the environment. This aspect of the organization of knowledge already conveys a significant message to the student, indicating that the environment issue is of little importance. The 1975 textbook did not bring forth environmental issue in a strict sense either. In fact, the textbook utilized the subject only to create a favorable image of government in its protection of the environment. Hence, the issue was purposely exploited so as to promote the necessary image of the kind of government that society wants, i.e., a government that supposedly cares for the environment and the people. As a result, the environment issue itself was downgraded to the level of decoration of the government's image. It was not until 1985 that the textbooks began to talk about seriously environmental issues. However, the 1985 and 1990 textbooks still failed to uncover the potential dangers of nuclear energy, a power source increasingly in use and now accounting for over half of the country's energy. Finally, while the 1990 textbook does partially contain a global perspective on environmental protection, it is safe to say that Korean textbook content still pursues the goal of modernization-led growth with a minimal acknowledgement of sustainable development principles. As environmental educators worldwide have argued, nations that continue to pursue unlimited growth models will reap due social and economic consequences for future generation. In the South Korean case, there are already enough hints of such unsustainable development.

CHAPTER V

INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIAL-CULTURAL SPHERE

1. Traditional/Modern Culture

As mentioned in Chapter II, Social-Cultural Change, Korean society has been influenced by Confucianism. In order to analyze the textbook content concerning social-cultural change from traditional to modern culture, the main Confucianism concepts about family need to be reviewed.

The family system, according to Confucianism, is very important in terms of personal relationships and ethical responsibilities. The well-known "Five Relationships" delineates the relations of ruler-subject, father-son, husband-wife, elder-younger, and friend-friend. Three of these are related to family relationships while the other two are usually conceived in terms of family models (Ching, 1977:96). For example, the ruler-subject relationship resembles that of father-son, while the friendship relationship parallels brotherliness. Hence, Confucianism views society as a large family; "Within the four seas all men are brothers" (Analects, 12:5).

The two leitmotifs of the five relationships are reciprocity and hierarchy. Firstly, Confucians view filial piety (hsiao) of primary importance and as foundational to all other human virtues (Rubin, 1976:16). Family relations provide a model for social behavior; i.e. respect your own elders as well as others' elders; and be kind to your own juniors and children, as well as other's juniors and children. This strong sense of solidarity is the main principle in the family, and is extended to the community as well.

Excepting the relationship between friends, which is the only truly horizontal relationship, the other four relationships are basically vertical, requiring reciprocal duties and responsibilities. The superior partners have more rights, and the inferior more duties (Ching, 1977:99, Kung and Ching, 1989:82). Therefore, the concept of respect for one's elders has significant implications.

> As reflected in the concept of respect for those who transmit tradition - the elders and in the first instance, one's own parents - is always linked to respect for tradition itself (Rubin, 1976:16)

As one of the features of Confucianism, the call to submissiveness and obedience to elders as the basis of the subject's conduct eventually came to be realized as conservatism on the social scene.

The family, as the fundamental unit of organization, has always been the center of Confucian life and ethics, which is symbolized in the maintenance of the ancestral altar in some Asian countries. Despite this, traces of social-cultural change in Korean society can be seen in the description of the family in textbooks. The following excerpts from the 1965 textbook denotes the necessity of change within the family system.

> Our family system is not completely free of its traditional structure. (65-SS3-32) Everyone can unite in trust and love in the small[7] family system, the discrimination between man and woman disappears. The small family system might be the ideal system, in which each individual can fully perform one's ability and everyone is close to themselves. (65-SS3-30)

These excerpt advocate change in the family system from a traditional to a modern family, i.e., from a large to a small family type. The image of the small family is depicted as one that eliminates gender discrimination and supports the individualistic values of the liberal-democratic society. While attempting to effect and/or reflect social change, the textbook also brings conflicting messages which warn against the change.

> Today's family is united by blood line, consisting of parents and their sons and daughters. However, if each member of the family becomes individually oriented to the extent that he/she is indifferent to one's own duty, the family ethic will be destroyed and the goal of family life cannot be fulfilled. (65-SS3-49-50)

Firstly, the textbook attempts to retain the basic family values that bind family members amid the weakening social ties of traditional relationships. This message is reinforced through a picture beside the above extract illustrating the five members of an 'ideal' family -- the parents and their three children, a son and two daughters. The father in the picture is shovelling, mother is washing clothes (in the traditional way by hand), the eldest daughter is babysitting her younger sister, and the son is sweeping fallen leaves in the yard. Both extract and picture reflect the tension between the blood line in the traditional concept of family and the individual oriented value in the modern concept of family. At the same time, the textbook is geared towards retaining the traditional values within the modern (small) family structure.

> Therefore, the old people teach that there should be filial piety between father and son, differentiation between man and woman, and respect for the elder brother or sister (65-SS3-50).

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[7] Since the textbook used the terms, 'small' and 'nuclear', in referring to family systems, the two terms will be used interchangeably herein.

The attempt of the textbook to preserve traditional family ties is carried out by reminding about the teachings of "old" people's ideas and by highlighting the inhumane features of human relationships within the Western family system as below.

> Due to its undue focus on small family life, there are many flaws found in the Western family system. It is the case, especially that when the children misbehave, the parents are not able to reason with them. Children send their grandparents to the home for the aged, and abandon them to languish in their old age. These cases cannot be considered as desirable. (65-SS3-31)

This reveals the textbook's aim to preserve traditional family bonds within the capsule of the Western family structure, by presenting a contrasting negative image of the Western small family system. The value orientation toward a small family system has significant implications for society in economic, political, and social terms.

Economically, the shattering of the large family structure results in the rise of small relatively self-sufficient family units and offers an enormous market for the sale of domestic goods (Bilton et. al. 1981:283). Furthermore, the small family is flexible and mobile enough to be employed in available jobs as wage-laborers. Given the massive influx of population to the cities from the countryside, these mobile families bring competition and create a massive reservoir of wage workers for the industrialization process began. Socially, industrialization is facilitated separating people from large family ties that depend upon a personal presence in order to perform ceremonial roles according to traditional custom. Needless to say, the small family system has enabled people to adapt to social change, as people within the large family system take longer to adjust to modern culture.

The emphasis on hierarchy and submission between the elder and younger members of family can be directly applied to the social-political scene, as the relations between ruler and subject can be understood in the same way. Although allegedly inculcating a 'harmonious' relationship within the family, the small family type which retains traditional values actually contributes to a repressive ideology which subverts political dissension.

Along with the change of family system, it is relevant to take a look inside that system, where detailed customs and comportments are emphasized and preserved. As discussed earlier, obedience to parents as filial piety is strongly advocated. Importantly, it must be pointed out that the 1965 textbook did not emphasize this value as did the 80's and 90's textbooks. This illustrates that the value changes in society, symptoms of decaying Confucianism required an emphasis on filial duty.

The 1965 textbook stressed the extension of filial duty to teachers (SS3-219), who maintain the social hierarchy and affirm and preserve what was seen to be the basic values of Confucianism. Consequently, the stress on obedience to teachers teaches the values inherent to traditional human relationships, such as respect, conformity, and submission to elders and their betters (Kim, 1988). The content illustrates a typical scene of family life amid social change.

> There are many shoes on the terrace stone in Sunam's house, where it has been quiet for a long time. The family members have gathered on the occasion of grandmother's birthday. Besides Sunam, his family of grandmother, father and mother, his elder sister, Suhee is in the 15th grade in senior high school, and lives in town for her schooling. Sunam's elder brother, Suchul, who had gone to the mountain to work after declining his parents' advice to pursue a university education, has come back today for this occasion (75-ME-86).

The above textbook teaches students the proper comportment on the grandmother's birthday, i.e., paying a visit to her wherever one may be. The case in this story can be applied to all elders in the family. Also, the story signals the symptoms of the dismantling of the family system; two young people live away from their parents to pursue their study and work. The story illustrates the changing scenes in a family where traditional ties still work on the one hand, and the rise of a small family system is hinted at on the other hand.

Regarding comportment within the family system, the following extract directs the student to appropriate behavior.

> Today is the most joyful day of the year *(Full Moon day, Korean Thanksgiving Day)*. The relatives in the towns and father's friends are visiting and sharing Moon cakes and their stories. While listening to their stories, I forgot to taste the cake (75-ME-120).

Apparently, the textbook content officially teaches students that the Full Moon festival should be celebrated with a gathering of friends and family, as in the story of the grandmother's birthday. Most importantly, the content teaches that the desirable comportment of a son in the presence elders is to be a quiet listener. This point, applicable to every social interaction with elders, implies that the consideration of seniority is primary in every social interaction. Along with emphasis on proper behavior, the textbook gradually shifted its focus from the behavioral requirement of Confucianism to its ideals per se.

> Today is the 'Hanshik'.[8] I miss my deceased parents so much, my parents who sacrificed their life for their children. I feel great remorse at my lack of filial duty whenever I think about their love for me (75-ME-9).
>
> The chance to pay filial piety to our parents is not possible all the time. Sometimes, we have to live away from our parents. In most cases, parents deceased ahead of us. Therefore, we have to devote ourselves to our parents when they are alive (84-ME-78)

The 1984 textbook particularly concentrates on filial piety to parents (ME-72,77,78), grandparents and elder relatives (ME-80). The contents retain the most constructive aspects of Confucianism, i.e, the mind, and clearly mirrors social trends which undermine traditional norms and prefer materialism to human interaction.

> In fulfilling one's filial duty, material support is important. But, it should be grounded upon heartfelt obedience and devotion. Here is the leitmotif of maintaining filial piety (90-ME-65)

As the small family is becoming a universal phenomena, the recent textbook laments that filial duty is reduced to a mere act of supplying basic material supplies for parents. In other words, the profound filial piety of traditional times is degraded to a shallow materialism.

Along with the erosion of the 'immaterial' ideals of Confucianism, the recent '85, '90 and '91 textbooks differ from the others by highlighting the importance of respect for elders. For instance, the 1984 textbook (ME-163) points out that "foreigners express admiration and envy for our great respect for elders and our tradition of living with grandparents". The 1990 textbook (ME-71-73) especially emphasizes the contribution of elders to Korean society in the process to Westernization in which the exclusion of elders from social-economic activities occurs.

This 'new' recognition of elders in the textbooks has other implications for society. The references to making phone calls to elders (84-ME-20), and accommodating parents-in-laws in the case of serious illness (90-ME-58) reflects that society is not prepared to invest in social welfare and accommodate its older members in the face of social changes. Therefore, the social welfare function is imposed upon the individual by appealing to the ideal of filial piety, by implying that social members are expected to be individualistic on the one hand, but must also take responsibility for maintaining the boundary of the large family system (Pally, 1992). These two messages engender severe value conflicts as traditional values conflict with modernization.

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[8] It falls on the 105th day after the winter Solstice in which sacrificial food is offered at the ancestral tombs. Hanshik usually falls on Arbor Day in Korea.

In the process of social change, the influence of foreign culture upon Korean tradition should also be analyzed.

> Accordingly, in order not to lag behind ever-increasing international competition, we must pay attention to foreign culture and adopt it whenever necessary. Despite the necessity of introducing foreign culture, we are not supposed to abandon our own culture while introducing another form of foreign culture (65-SS3-179)

> In the process of copying and diffusing culture, the culture created is always diffused from the superior to the inferior. For instance, the mode of life from city to countryside, and the advanced countries' culture in relation to underdeveloped countries are such cases (75-SS3-208).

The first text teaches students to accommodate the foreign culture while preserving Korea's own. The second content engenders the ignorance of Korean culture by encouraging students to take for granted the direction of cultural transmission, obviously legitimating the domination of the center over the periphery. This universalizing trend of Western culture throughout developing countries is repeated in the 1986 textbook (SS3-339). In contrast, the 1986 textbook also teaches students that any Western influences of self-interest and materialism are to be seen as undesirable influences (86-SS3-331). Finally, the 1990 textbook seems to reverse this universalizing trend of Western culture over the culture of underdeveloped countries.

> There are many people who think that social development in developing countries should emulate the process of the advanced society in the West. Those people regard this process as modernization, reasoning from the idea that social development should parallel the modern society of the West. However, most developing countries today have their own traditions and historical backgrounds, different to that of Western society in the past. Therefore, the true sense of social development is not to be dependent another model, but to preserve one's own traditions and to develop them. (91-SS3-97)

With regard to foreign cultural influences, the earlier textbooks strongly emphasize the need for adopting foreign culture in the early stages of Korean industrialization. After the achievement of modernization, however, the recent textbooks sound the alarms warning against the massive influx of foreign culture. The two types of values collide in a society where new norms or moral ethics suitable to the dramatic changes taking place are not yet defined (86-SS3-329-331; 90-ME-106). Amid these trends, the textbook merely emphasizes the harmony between modern (foreign) and traditional culture (91-SS3-100).

Accordingly, it is necessary to analyze specific references to this clash between two different values and cultures. As mentioned in the discussion of Confucianism, traditional Korean values about social interaction are equated with collectivism, whereas the modern

(Western) values are more oriented towards individualism. The predominant emphasis on mutual reliance, interdependence and the cooperative spirit counter the modernizing (Westernizing) influence where individual competition and self-achievement is strongly encouraged. This collision of two different value systems has generated a confusing message for students.

> Minsu, who lives in an apartment, had a gathering of friends and family on a ceremonial occasion after a long interval. The visitors enjoyed themselves thoroughly by sharing their food, chatting and even singing songs. As night approached, the neighbors complained about the noise. Upon these complaints, the uncle from the countryside grumbled that it is our long standing tradition of cerebrating with one's relatives and opined the neighbors as inconsiderate. In this case, what kind of judgements can be made? How can we make a balance between the characteristics of urban life and that of tradition? (90-ME-96)

The textbook clearly shows how people experience cultural dissonance in daily life. The content encourages the need for balance between these two different value orientations, which, in reality, requires a sacrifice of either value. For this phenomenon, the textbook presents a long explanation.

> Our traditional culture has been eroded by the new (modern) education practiced after independence from Japanese colonialism. Our nation has proclaimed that the establishment of the Western democratic ideal has provided an education that emphasizes the respect for individuality, equality and humanity as the basis of democracy.
>
> Democracy, centered upon individualism, is emphasized in the new education, and this value counters the collectivism within the family in our tradition, which in turn has caused difficulty in accommodating Western culture.
>
> However, Western culture lays the basis for scientific and technological development necessary to an industrializing society. In order to introduce these developments, we have to understand and accept Western culture. Because the idea of equality and democracy in the West fully guarantees individual capacity, and retains the achievement-oriented value required for industrialization, we have attempted to introduce Western culture. (91-SS3-103)

Textbook knowledge fully legitimates the acceptance of Western culture in order to achieve an egalitarian and democratic society, while at the same time recognizing the resisting force of traditional culture. It highlights the rhetoric of liberal democratic ideals through the value of education in society where the various kinds of traditional and modern connections such as blood ties, school, region (Cho and Breazeale, 1991) and gender (K.A. Park, 1993) are covertly working as powerful sources of social inequality. This will be analyzed in the later section on Inequality.

In summary, textbook analysis traces rapid social change in Korean society. The texts attempt to deliver modern values to students, especially regarding the change within the family system from a large to a small structure. In turn, the overall impact of the change has been identified in the economic, social-cultural and political areas.

Furthermore, the preservation of the traditional values of filial piety and basic human relations is encouraged by stressing detailed customs and manners; for example, cerebrating traditional holidays and grandmother's birthday. As Korean society develops, the textbook warns against the formalization of Confucian manners, which had been degraded into a shallow materialism in modern society.

Regarding the influence of foreign culture, textbooks are characterized by contradictions that stress the acceptance of foreign culture on the one hand, and the preservation of Korean traditional culture on the other hand. An exemplary case is illustrated in the story of Minsu. While 'logically' explaining the reason for the necessity of foreign (Western) culture in Korean society, the final excerpt from the 1991 textbook evidenced the conflicting scene of Korean education amid rapid social change. An analogy can be made of the textbook analysis of traditional and modern culture in Korean society. It is like an operator of a car, pressing the brake to retain traditional values and at the same time pressing the accelerator to speed up the modernization process. The state, as planner of the textbook, occupies the driver's seat that carefully negotiates the twists and turns of the tenuous road to development, braking when necessary, and accelerating when the going is smooth.

2. Agencies of Socialization

This category deals with various socializing agencies such as the family, school, media and religion, and their interrelationships.

Family

As delineated in the previous category of traditional/modern culture, the family is the foremost institution for socialization in Korea, and the major socializing process in the family is linked to a broader social relationship.

> When the parents fulfill their role as parents, children as children, elder brother as elder brother, younger brother as younger brother and wife as wife, then the norms of family relationships are stable and, thereby, the social order will be sustained. (90-ME-9)

Socialization in the family is directed towards role-taking functions such as the predetermined roles between parents and children, elder and younger, and husband and wife, as defined by Confucianism. Therefore, it seems the textbook endeavors to infuse a static role model at the primary socialization level so that the social order will be soundly preserved. More precisely, the specific role ascribed according to one's status within a family is precisely inculcated, as seen from the extract below.

> For example, our family lives upon my father's wages from working outside the home and mother manages to maintain the family. I[9] go to school, and help tutor my younger brother who is in elementary school, as well as often massage my grandparents' shoulders (65-SS3-8,9).

According to their specific role, the father is depicted as the bread-winner, the mother as the home-maker, and the children as eager students. Above all, the textbook tries to preserve the traditional values by teaching filial piety for one's elders, as symbolized by the grandparents in the textbook extract. The inculcation of specific roles within a family promotes the reproduction of major social roles at the level of the initial socializing institution, the home. The following content brings into focus the primary function of the family for the individual and society.

> As time flies, we will have one or two children and raise them, and meanwhile our parents will get older and need our help (90-ME-5).

The content stresses the functional importance of the family in the procreation of new social members and in the socialization of them so that the society may survive. By combining the three generations into one unit, the content implies that the whole family should take care of the elders. The stress on strong family ties and family loyalties can also be attributed to the fact that there are no extensive welfare programs in Korea; security for the individual is a private or family concern (Song, 1990:160)

Alongside the 'normal' picture of the family, the following story presents a contrast.

> Kyunghee missed her father. If my father were alive, my mother would not have suffered that much, and even Kyunghee herself could have the love of both her parents. Once the house was always bright and well-maintained, peaceful and the family was full of life. But, due to mother's early-morning work, she does not have enough time to take care of the house. Now the house is dark and desolate without any spirit in her family. (75-ME-74)

By using the single-parent family as a contrast, the above textbook content not only adheres to the preservation of the 'normal' type of family, where the male is head of the household, but also imposes value assumptions about the single-parent- family. The above image of an 'abnormal' family is depicted as lifeless, dark, and even desolate, whereas the 'normal' family with (Kyunghee's) father alive, is depicted as bright, well-maintained, peaceful and full of life. The image of the family headed by the male is valued as normal and happier and thus the story strongly characterizes value of the patriarchal family system.

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[9] There is no indication to identify the speaker's gender.

The following content socializes the students to harmonious relationships with their parents.

> Parents always take care of their children, and guide them to the 'right' way. Children comply with the parent's words and fulfill their filial duty sincerely, and thus, the family lives in harmony (90-ME-54)

In order to maintain harmonious family life, the content teaches students three virtues; the adherence to the authority of parents, righteousness of their lessons and the duty of fulfil piety. The 1990 textbook can be regarded as an attempt to counter the individual and equality-oriented values that are in contradiction to traditional norms.

Because of the conflict between traditional values learned in the family and modern democratic values learned in school, today's students face a difficult situation: do they assert themselves and make their own decisions, or accept decision imposed upon them by their elders?

Schools

The orientation towards parents and seniors is further supplemented in school, the second most important socialization agency. The 1965 textbook (SS3-8,9) conveys that socialization in school occurs via the students acceptance of the teachers' authority. Schools are described as the place where students study hard under the guidance of the teacher. Emphasis on the teacher's authority and the virtues of subordination to one's teacher are unconsciously repeated in every social interaction, such as the ruler and subject, elders and juniors, and parents and their children. Talking to one's elders is not dialogue; rather, it is a vertical sermon or lesson that requires conforming responses from the younger students. This deliberate socialization process has eased the need to legitimate political power and authority in Korean society: the conservative orientation towards the family and school takes care of this. As an important site from which to practice and learn about authority, the textbook content describes class and school as follows:

> - Major Learning Activities -
> 1. Let's discuss the kinds of status and roles the head of the class possesses.
> 2. Let's present what kinds of norms there are in the various groups in which we are involved, and what kind of punishment is to be imposed when we violate these norms (84-SS1-16)

The school imparts certain values and norms as well as kinds of knowledge to students. For instance, the first item attempts to teach students the necessity of authority in the classroom and conforming to such authority. The second item orients students to the idea that schools exercise 'disciplinary' power over them as well as play a 'rectifying' role for deviant behavior. Educational institutions thus mould the students into 'normal' members of society.

> School is the socializing institution that influences children's growth greatly. In schools they learn knowledge and skills necessary in society, as well as the attitudes and values desirable in society (90-SS2-292).

The above textbook presents educational institutions as necessary not only for students but also for society itself. The school's role is to transmit socially desirable values to students and to lead them towards participation in social-economic institutions. Hence it contributes to preserving the status quo in society. However, critical theorist begins with the assumption that schools are not the site for preparing students for the dominant relations of power and ideologies in society. Instead, schools are "essential sites for developing a counterlogic to those relations by organizing knowledge, power, and desire in the service of extending individual capacities and social possibilities" (Giroux, and McLaren, 1989:xxi).

> Education can develop the invisible capacities that people possess. By being educated, not only can people work much more, but they can also be involved in more reputable[10] work. (91-SS3-116).

While conveying the value of educational achievement, the content adheres to the concept of "correspondence theory" by linking the educational system with socio-economic power relations, by presenting schooling as the 'means' to socially 'reputable' jobs. From this context, it seems that the textbook fails to elucidate the other side of the credential society where the value of education becomes inflated, thereby aggravating the unequal distribution of educational credentials along socio-economic differences.

Mass Media

As a socializing agency, mass communication needs to be analyzed. It is possible to distinguish the temporal developments in the textbook content of mass media. The 1965 textbook introduces mass media as seen below.

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[10] The meaning or kinds of reputable work was not clearly defined in the textbook.

> Through newspapers and magazines, we are able to listen to all the news on various affairs which occur daily. In addition, we can hear opinions and commentaries of scholars. From this point of view, newspapers and magazines are essential for everyday life. (65-SS3-196)

Above all, one thing to be noted about the above textbook content is that television was not yet a popular media in Korean society during the sixties. The textbook draw the image of mass media as impartial; we hear 'all the news'. It clearly conveys a sense of credibility to mass media presentation by pointing out the presence of professionals as opinion-makers' in a society where the learned are highly regarded. The image of mass media in the 1965 textbook as informative and therefore essential to living in a modern society is contrasted with the excerpt below .

> Because mass communication influences the masses continuously, it is liable to lead people towards a certain direction (75-SS3-178)

The above excerpt implies that mass media should be under control, due to its tendency toward a certain direction; the function of the media can be identified as social control in the Korean context in the seventies. In a sense, the content provides a clue to why the 1970's Korean government censored all media scripts (Yeom, 1988).

The 1990 textbook reference highlights the 'possible' impact of mass media below.

> Especially, owing to the development of mass media such as the newspaper, radio and television, people now tend to feel and think about events and experiences that they have not experienced themselves. In addition, people receive the information supplied by mass media without any critical judgement. Amid this process, people start to think unconsciously in the same way as others and tend to have a certain preference and consume similar products. (91-SS3-92-3)

Recent textbooks describe the impact of mass media from the liberal-functional perspective; that is, the function of media is to expand people's experiences, and to manipulate their consumption tastes in a capitalist society. The text does not illuminate critical aspects about the media which might mislead people and even control them in order to 'manufacture consent' of the masses (Chomsky, 1992). In short, the above textbook excerpt downplays the role of mass media wherein media is utilized by the state to manipulate the people. Thus, textbook knowledge has not disclosed the 'suppressive' role of mass media.

Religion

As one of the socializing agencies, textbook references to religious institutions are mainly concerned with the transition to a modern society. The 1965 textbook (SS3-187), uses derogatory terms, such as the label of 'foolish' for people who believe in 'pre-modern', 'uninstitutionalized' beliefs. It depicts institutionalized religion as sound and reliable because it teaches students that superstition and heathenism should be eradicated.

As a result, the textbook directs people to join institutionalized religious organizations which in turn imply a level of modernization.

In fact, South Korea has no state religion and guarantees the freedom of all religions. However, the freedom implied here is within the institutionalized, accepted, form of religion. Importantly, it should be noted that the textbooks from 1975 onwards do not mention the subject of religion. Since Christianity was introduced in Korea in the late 16th century, the country rapidly Christianized. The proportion of Christians including Roman Catholics constitute two thirds of all religious members which include Buddhism and the New religion (Kurian, 1987:1088). The textbook does not remark upon the subject of religion, perhaps in order not to ferment social discord between the different religions.

Up until this point, the various agencies of socialization have been analyzed. Now the interrelationships between these institutions will be reviewed.

Interrelationships

Among the socializing agencies, such as the family, the school, mass media, and religious institutions, the textbook highly emphasizes socialization at the level of the family, consequent with the social and cultural traditions of Korea. Socialization at this initial stage has profound implications for the remaining phases of the socialization of Korean students. Firstly, then, the concept of socializing institutions needs to be analyzed in order to reveal what kinds of assumptions are made about the individual members of society.

> The social structure is the result of interaction between the individual and the group, which constitutes society. The social structure, once formed, affects individual life. For instance, when a certain relationship is initiated between parents and children, the parents and children of our society become influenced by the interaction form and emulate it (84-SS1-19).

The presentation of social structure and agents is defined on rigid terms, to be followed by everyone, particularly students. The content implants the idea of 'socialization' to young members of society to fit them into a predetermined interaction pattern. Accordingly, the textbook guides students so that they will apprehend the normal interaction form.

> Therefore, from the individual's perspective, one should always apprehend the aims of groups and endeavor to harmonize one's behavior with those aims. (84-SS1-16)

The above content brings to light the preference for collectivism rather than individualism, by emphasizing the virtue of harmony with the group or organizational goal. According to social domination over the individual, the norms, standards, and status role are outlined and expected to be carried out by each social member (65-SS3-8,9,11; 84-SS1-14).

The next content outlines prescriptions for behavioral conduct to students.

> Though we live on by cooperating with each other, we also conflict and compete with other. But when one's conflict and competition are too severe, then it is hard to lead a smooth social life (90-SS2-293).

Regarding social conflict, the textbook conveys that conflict is the last thing to be chosen in social life, by warning students not to be too 'deviant'.

The harmonious assumption of human relationships is also found in relations among the institutions.

> The family system functions to give birth to new members of society and to protect them. The religious system delivers the meaning of life to its members, brings solidity among the members and helps them to acquire tranquility of mind. The educational system shapes its new members to society, and produces new knowledge. The political system functions to control the interests among the various groups, to regulate interactions, and to consolidate society's interests after determining social goals. Finally, the economic system functions for the production, exchange and distribution of products (90-SS2-301-2).

This excerpt reasons that it is the system and/or institution that functions in society, not the individual person. This perspective therefore legitimates the institution's functional necessity in society and reinforces its authority as an independent body which makes life possible, or at least facilitates activities, within the system. From the above textbook content, the tone of domination of social structures which empower their members to execute their actions and which meets their needs is highly evident.

> The institution is very much related to the concern and interests of everyone in society. Accordingly, it is very essential that it be equipped with a dependable system and fair management for building a trustworthy society (90-ME-117).

In conjunction with the previous content (90-SS2-301-2), this text delivers ambiguous, but related, messages. It legitimates the functions of the social system by identifying the various agencies, and by stating the necessity for 'reliable' social institutions. What is omitted from the two messages is the actual operations of the social institutions. In other words, the backdrop of the necessity for 'reliable' and 'fair' institutions is not explained, despite the beneficial functions of those institutions. This is a good example of how the textbook deliberately creates the functional and 'fair' image of society by advocating the need for a reliable system, while at the same time suppressing the background explanation for its necessity. It was not until 1990 that the textbook included 'critical' comments on the dominance of social institutions over the individual.

> Originally, the social system was created by human beings. As mentioned earlier, it functions not only for the individual, but also for society itself. However, the social system often excessively regulates the individual's behavior (90-SS2-302)

In summary, the various agencies of socialization, such as the family, the school, the media, religion, and the police, and their consequent interrelationships has been analyzed. The predominant emphasis in the textbooks has been on the family system, partly because the family is the initial socialization agency and is therefore crucial to moulding members to accept a basic value structure. Further explanation can be found in the basic fact that family socialization can be extended to other phases of socialization.

The major emphasis on socialization by the family is found in teaching the student the basic status role as prescribed in Confucianism, in order to preserve traditional role models. The textbook not only prescribes ideal types of each social role in the family, but also endorses the patriarchical nature of the family by implying that the male-headed household is the norm, and is happier than the single parent household headed by a woman. The concept of authority is based on the parent/ child relationship at home and then extended to the school scene in the teacher/student relationship, which is later extended to the relationship between the ruler and subject.

Regarding the socialization process, the school is depicted as the most intensive and comprehensive institution, in terms of instilling values and attitudes as well as knowledge. The textbook highly legitimizes the value of educational achievement by conveying the image of a credential society.

Regarding mass media, the text conveys the image of a reliable and fair system upon which people can depend for the transmission of information. Because of undue emphasis on the functional necessity of communication institutions, the textbook fails to reveal the ideological role played by the media and its repressive nature of social control. Also, the textbook does not present any in-depth discussion on religion, other than presenting a positive value orientation towards institutionalized religion.

The textbook discussion of the interrelationships found among socializing agencies shows that they attempt to socialize students towards a 'basic' form of social interaction, so that they will follow a predetermined pattern. In order to preserve social order, the textbook socializes students away from forms of 'deviant' behavior . The social structure is depicted as the guardian of society, designed to protect social order.

Last but not least, the textbook does not present a balanced picture concerning the 'actual' operations of the social system; it merely presents the necessity of a "fair" system without logical elaboration as to the nature, purpose and context of the system.

3. Inequality of Class

This category explores social welfare, labor exploitation and the gap between the rich and poor. As one part of the relationships between rich-poor , the relationship between business owners and laborers was examined.

> Although the laborers demand wage increases, the employers cannot but reject their demands, otherwise they cannot manage their businesses. Thereby, the employer and laborers are in conflict. In case the laborers unify to organize a labor union, and to stage a strike, things then become serious. If it does not immediately settle down, the process causes tremendous chaos in society. This case, sometimes referred to as a labor issue, often occurs in our society. (65-SS3-210)

The description of the social conflict between the capitalist (employer) and laborer tends to engender a biased image of the labor class, due to its simplistic description of the class as one which merely demands wage increases. This image of the working class is further reinforced as aggressive, by the description of labour's organization into a union.

The 1975 textbook excluded any mention of the inequality of social classes. This is significant as Korea at this point was experiencing the initial take-off stage in economic growth when labor conflict was regarded as detrimental to growth.

> As modernization proceeds, more and more people come to work in the offices and factories. Thereby, the conflicts between salary or wage workers and employers become an important labor issue (86-SS3-328).

> The question of how income is distributed to the labor sector, i.e., the wage making decision, is very important. By organizing a union, labor attempts to improve their working conditions and wages. And, the government facilitates a proper compromise between labor and owner. This reflects the significance of the distribution issue. (84-SS1-252)

Although the 1985 textbook is the first to highlight the issue of class, it still promotes a biased perspective. It also engenders an image of the working class as a demanding group that only sets their sights on increasing their wages. This representation also generates an image of the capitalist as the accommodating and more dignified party in labor disputes. The textbook's role in promoting social order is not attempted by an accurate presentation of social conflict, but by instilling the value of cooperation (86-SS3-321), here defined as "proper compromise".

> When the owner and worker abide by the work ethic and understand and care for each other, a stable cooperation is achieved and consequently the business grows, contributing to the stable economy of the whole nation (86-SS3-329).

> Because industry had been eager to attain growth so far, they might have neglected wage increases for laborers and the improvement of their working conditions. Along with political democratization, the workers are exploding in their discontent, and lots of labor troubles occur due to improper solutions. For sustained growth, the business owner and the workers should endeavor to create a working environment where they can sincerely cooperate with one another (91-SS3-84).

These textbook references depict business (industry) owners as growth-oriented, whereas the working class is presented as a discontented group. In order to resolve this situation, the textbook preaches the value of the status quo and cooperation for the greater public good.

The textbook limits the range of coverage on the issue of social conflict to the dimension of capitalist relations between the employer and laborers. Due to this limitation, references to the existence of the 'reserve army' in capitalism, i.e., the unemployed[11] are omitted.

Social Welfare

The 1965 textbook drew attention to the issue of social welfare as found below.

> By the social security system, even workers are provided with caring support, so that they can lead a decent life. Regarding housing problems, our country builds lots of welfare housing, so that they can be easily accommodated. Through the employment security office, the country is doing its best to relieve unemployment. On the matter of the exploding population size, the country publicize family planning and attempts to accommodate the poor by building orphanages or senior's homes so that they would not roam about the streets (65-SS3-214).

From the experience of a society torn apart by war, the content stresses the need for immediate social welfare measures for war orphans, the dispossessed, the elderly, and the homeless. In the 75's textbooks, the ideals of a social welfare system are proclaimed by describing the enactment of law related to the social welfare.

> In 1973, the National Welfare Pension Law was enacted again[12], and it aimed to distribute social benefits fairly to all laborers, including public officers and soldiers. (75-SS3-192)

The excerpt implies that the social security program is more oriented to the benefit of the civil service, rather than to the 'real' poor. On the impact of the law, Park (1991:333) argued that "although this [the above law] was one of the most important and comprehensive of the government's social development initiatives in the early 1970s, the law was not brought into force until January 1,1988". The oil crisis, government fear of economic downturn and the burden of financing the nationwide welfare system accounted for late implementation of this law. Hence, the issue of social security was not the most important concern in the era.

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[11] For a reference, the unemployment rate in Korea was 7.4 % (in 1965), 4.5% (1970), 4.1 (1975), 5.2 (1980), 4.0 (1985) and 3.1 (1987) (Song, 1990:184)

[12] According to Park (1991:331), the law represents amendments of previous laws such as the Civil Service Pension Law in 1960, and the Military Pension Law in 1963.

> In order that the social welfare system run more efficiently, a source of money is needed. However, it should be kept in mind that this source of money is generated from the tax system. Therefore, the social welfare system can be further expanded through economic growth and the fulfillment of tax payment responsibilities. (75-SS3-193)

According to this message, the achievement of economic growth and fulfillment of tax payments precede delivering social welfare. The subject of social welfare was downplayed by the government, who claimed that the funding necessary for social welfare would become available with increased economic growth, while still imposing the extra burden of tax payment responsibilities.

The alleged expansion of the social welfare system in the 75's textbook finds its achievements in the 1986 textbook.

> However, our social welfare system is still in poor condition. There are many people living in need, and who are not provided with the benefits of pensions or medical care (86-SS3-361).

When considering that the 1986 textbook still depicts the conditions of the welfare state as poor, even after further economic growth, the various laws relating to social welfare in the 1975 textbook do not sound plausible. Those laws, and the content about social welfare, misguided students into lending their support for the government policy of economic growth. The 1991 textbook (SS3-121) does not differ from the 1986 textbook on the welfare issue. Despite more realistic references to the topic in the 1985 and 1990 textbooks, practical measures required to cope with those really in need are not elaborated upon. As the justification for insufficient public measures for social security, Song highlighted the social-cultural background of Korea. "The family security system is especially important in Korea, where, under the profound influence of Confucianism, the family retains its importance as the basic economic, social, educational, and welfare unit" (1991:160). Based on the concept of social welfare, the assumption of society was drawn.

> It is certain that there are the rich and poor in society, resulting from differences in capabilities and the degree of industriousness. (91-SS3-50)

Clearly, the textbook bolsters a view of social inequality which tends to focus on differences in the individual rather than recognizing the structural roots of poverty. The content does not encourage students to consider the issue of social inequality as important and of immediate concern to them.

In summary, the textbook content regarding social inequality between the rich and poor limits its discussion to the relationship between the employer (capitalist) and the laborer (working class). In referring to these two classes, the text presents the working class as a demanding group, contrasting it with the image of the capitalist class, which is portrayed as tolerant and accommodating. The teaching of the need for cooperation strongly connotes that the working class should cooperate for the public good, i.e. economic growth. There is heavy emphasis on the two classes and their role in social inequality, and avoidance of the existence of the reserve army of unemployed within the capitalist economy. This is a serious oversight, because the issue of unemployment directly affects the relations between the two classes and a consequent social welfare policy.

Although most textbooks, generally, admitted the need for social welfare, they fail to highlight the issue as an immediate concern to society because the family system is regarded as the responsible agent for providing social welfare. Instead, economic growth and taxes become society's immediate concern in the 1975 textbooks. These examples really tell us that the social welfare system is used as a propaganda tool to support government claims for increased economic growth. Therefore, textbook content on the issue of social welfare, does not succeed in substantiating government policy and its detailed measures. In ignoring such issues as labor exploitation, the textbook concentrates on the need for social harmony, rather than on discussing the very roots of social conflict.

4. Inequality of Gender

In this category, the unequal gender relationship and existence of related policies will be discussed. Although basic gender roles are prescribed in Confucianism, the socio-historical origin of Confucian thought in China, its later revision in the form of Neo-confucianism, and its profound influence on Korean society will be delineated in order to better understand women's status in Korean .

When Confucian scholars wrote the Five Classics (before 208 B.C.), there was no clear evidence that women were treated differentially in society. The terms defining men and women in the Five Relationships are drawn according to differences seen from the perspective of the Yin and Yang, which are correlated rather than unequally divided

(Ching, 99). Therefore, women were basically respected as individual human beings and egalitarianism between men and women was more or less accepted in the areas of morality and family life (Yao, 1983:38).

With due consideration to the historical context of Confucius (551-479 B.C.), it is possible to assume that the original ideas of Confucianism were not patriarchal,and it was not the repressive ideology it was to become in later periods. Thus, it was in the Ancient period that the unequal relationship between man and woman developed, as seen below.

> Of the Five Classics[13], the Changes is the most influential in the placement of male and female in the cosmic order. It is here that the most basic equation is enshrined - the equation of male and female with yang and yin, with heaven and earth, with sun and moon. Over the centuries, heavy accretions of complementary associations, like light and dark, and dry and moist, were added, and while the two modalities perhaps began as equals, a superior-inferior flow rapidly developed in the 179?-104 B.C. (Guisso, 1981:49)

The Ancient Period initiated the rapid decline of women's status and formulated unequal moral standards for men and women. It was not until the later stages of Ancient China (around 600 - 900 A.D.) that women's status was devalued and they came to be treated as property (Yao, 1983; 48). This is also the period in which infanticide began.

The most important era for our purposes of analysis is the Middle Period (959 - 1642 A.D.), because it fundamentally destroyed women's status. It was in this period that Confucianism was interpreted to Neo-Confucianism.

> The Neo-Confucianism that developed in the Sung Dynasty continued to play a vital role in women's declining status: they were overwhelmingly afflicted by male tyranny which flourished in the succeeding dynasties. Women were cruelly discriminated against by the dual or conflicting moral standards set for men and women in the marital arena. Men could abuse their regal male rights while women had to conform rigidly to the unreasonable moral code forced on them by men (Yao, 1973: 78).

It was this form of Neo-Confucianism that was transmitted into Korea. With regards to its consequent influence on Korea, Kalton (1985:89) writes below:

> When Yi, Songgye ascended the throne in 1392 and thus finally brought the decrepit Koryo dynasty to its close, at his side were a group of young Neo-Confucians who had been the support and architects of his rise to power. Under

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[13] There are five books in the Confucian Classics. They consist of the Classic of Changes, Spring and Autumn, the Classics of Poetry, the Classic of History, and the Records of Rites (New Enclyclopaedia Britannica, 1985).

> their guidance the new Yi dynasty underwent an ideological shift which was to have a profound and lasting effect on Korean life for the next five hundred years (1392-1910).

Because Neo-Confucianism was declared the state religion and instituted as a mandatory course of learning for the civil service examination in Korea (Ro, 1989), its impact on Korean society was more profound than any other cultural influence in pre-modern Korean history prior to the 1900s. In the early half of this century, Japanese rule over Korea did not seem to greatly influence Korean culture, probably due to the fact that Japan and Korea share the experience of being influenced by Chinese culture. The last twist came from the Western influences of egalitarianism and pragmatism after the Korean War.

Although Western ideas have countered Confucianism somewhat by instilling the idea of equity of women's status, the deep history of Neo-Confucianism still works powerfully upon the society. With this reflection upon the development of women's status in the Confucian tradition in mind, the following content can be analyzed.

> From older times, sports activities such as archery and sword practice or wrestling were widely enjoyed. In addition, there were the group sports like tug-of-war. Because women like sports as much as men, the activities suitable for them, such as swinging and Korean-style seesaws, have been popular. (65-SS3-199)

The sports activities are clearly demarcated by gender differences, implying that social gatherings and their enjoyment are gender-bound. The emphasis of women's sameness in enjoying sports does not convey equality because of the gender differences cited in the kinds of sports they enjoy, such as swinging and low seesawing.

> In terms of considering economic burdens and people's well-being, control of the birth rate can be achieved by deliberately curbing birth rates Most importantly, however, we must not differentiate between the birth of a son or a daughter. (75-SS3-225)

Society's obsession with gender is seen in the attitudes towards the baby's gender, which are deliberately differentiated and can discriminate against baby girls. This 'textbookish' warning against the differential treatment of female is a joke, because reality runs contrary to the warning. The differential treatment of women before their birth does not alter after birth either.

> Let's discuss about how career life should be changed in the future, in the case of women and men. (75-SS3-184)

The message above is not only that there are gender differences in career life, but also that gender determines change. The stereotyped image of women, mostly work in the kitchen, did not change over the period (75-ME-10, 31, 84-ME-71); and this image of women is reinforced in the following content.

> Let's address one's inquiry to one's mother concerning the way of saving money in one's family, then evaluate the methods. (84-SS1-243)

Although the content can be interpreted as merely a generational problem, it orients gender roles from the early stages of socialization through the whole education experience, limiting women's boundary to the home and thereby hampering their career aspirations of equal participation. For instance, the percentage of female students at the post-secondary level is still only 26.8% of college entrants, and their major area of study is mostly concentrated in the teaching profession, arts and physical education (MOE, 1986: 94-95).

> When I was about to leave home for school, mother irritated me as usual. She cares about every detail, such as whether I have my school bag, or I was tidily dressed, or I have done my homework. Often, I'm so vexed at mom's behavior. (84-ME-96-70)

The value of home-maker is not appreciated as an 'impressive' job, because of its representation of the mother's act as 'fussy'. In Korea, there is clear gender division of labor, where mother is in charge of the children's education, like their test scores and even the friends with whom they associate; the father's role, one the other hand, is oriented to the various social roles as below.

> One person does not have one status, but has many at the same time. A man in his thirties with a family is the husband and father as well as the head in his office. He is the believer in church, and a member in his hobby club. (90-SS2-298-299)

The differential treatment of gender depicts men as enjoying and fulfilling more roles in society, as compared to women who are depicted as a people with a single, home-bound role.

In summary, the textbook content about gender inequality clearly reflects the ideological and patriarchical messages found in Neo-Confucianism. The 60's textbook implants the concept of difference between men and women, even to the point of delineating the types of sports appropriate for each sex. This concept of difference denotes direct discrimination and inequality in Korean society, as exemplified in the textbook content about social preferences for boys over girls. The domain of life for women is bound to the home. In contrast, the textbook extract defines the man's role within the whole domain of society, such as job-holder, church-goer and social club member. Therefore, the textbooks do not promote equal opportunity for women, but instead convey messages that impede the social opportunities and career aspirations of girls.

The limited treatment by the textbook content concerning gender issues implies that gender problems are not an important issue in society. The fact that there is no mention of non-sexist policies directly indicates not only that the value and knowledge in the textbook, but that society's power and interests are mainly organized by men and distributed by and for them, in order to reproduce a society where the male is head in a patriarchy.

5. Inequality of Region

This section is concerned with the uneven development of demographic regions and the urban-rural gap. In order to fully appreciate the issue of regionalism in Korea, some introductory information, especially the historical background to regionalism in Korea, will be briefly reviewed.

Korean regionalism dates back to the period when the Korean peninsula was divided into three kingdoms: Koguryo, Paekche, and Shilla. Geographically, the northern half of the Korean peninsula adjacent to the border of China was occupied by Koguryo, the southern half was divided into the Paekche to the southwest and the Shilla to the southeast. After defeating the two others, Shilla unified the peninsula in 668 (Solberg, 1991). The 'ancient' history read that the Paekche succumbed to the rule of the Shilla but this did not seem to affect the regionalism seen in the modern Korea. There are two incidents that might be considered as factors that engender the political and economic discrimination of the region. The Yosu-Sunchon Rebellion[14] of 1948 is one representative incident in which the region and the government clashed, leaving the region with an image of being a leftist-inspired zone. More recently, the reality of regionalism has resulted from the military regime's economic plans of the last four decades (1960-1990). As one index of the political power of the southeast[15], the four presidents of South Korea from 1963 to the present come from this zone. Therefore, it is not surprising that economic development has been planned for the southeast zone.

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[14] It is a leftist movement arose in the two cities, Yosu-Sunchon in South Cholla on October, 19, 1948 The incident is the large-scale insurrection of the communist-inspired rebels, killed some 1,200 local officials, police and their family members, and brought the massive destruction destroyed several hundreds of homes and public building.(Nahm, 1993:203-4).

[15] The region is also called as 'Kyungsang', or 'Yongnam'. In comparison, the southwest region is also called as 'Cholla or Honam'.

As early as the 1965 textbooks, it is possible to identify representations of regionalism, as illustrated below.

> [Exercise]
> 1. Let's name the countries that existed in the southern region in the old times.
> 2. Let's locate the mountains, rivers and plains, after drawing a map of the southern region.
> 3. Let's discuss the future of the Ulsan Industrial Zone.
> 4. Let's survey the kinds of goods that are imported and exported in and from the Pusan Port. (65-SS1-65).

In teaching about the geographical information of the southern part of Korea, the above content presents a discriminatory and ideological view of the region. The first two items present a balanced learning perspective about the two southern regions, i.e. east and west. However, the latter two disregard that balanced perspective because both cities mentioned are located in the southeastern (Kyungsang) region, thereby eliminating the southwest from the industrialization zone.

> Mokpo, the harbor city, is located at the mouth of the Yongsang River and stretches from north to south. It is not widely spread from east to west. Due to the Udal Mountains in the west, the cities' development is limited. Therefore, there is no further possibilities for the city to prosper except in its northern part (65-SS1-62).

Regarding the southwest region, the whole tone of content is oriented towards a negative and even pessimistic view, and thus further obstructs possible development. As a counterpart, the cities in the southeast (Kyungsang) region, are described as below.

> We must facilitate our new industrial zone, centering around Pusan and Ulsan. Therefrom, these zones will rise as new industrial zones next to the Kyungin (capital city and its fringe) zone and undergo further economic development. Let's discuss what kinds of industry occupy the region, and the possibilities for other industrial development. (65-SS1-53)

Although industrialization in Korea was not truly mobilized in the 1960s, the textbook already reflects government interests in the region as equal to the capital (Kyungin) zone, in order to pave the road for industrialization, resulting in unequal development of the Korean southern region. This bias continues through to the 1975 textbook (SS1-56) and on into the present.

> [Study Points]
> 2. The industrial zone in the Southeastern coast was developed by a national policy of export-oriented industrialization.
> 3. The Honam and Yongnam region became different in their life-styles, due to the traffic barriers of the Sobaik Mountain Range, and their different historical and cultural backgrounds (84-SS1-108).

Firstly, compared to the earlier content, this content attempts impartiality by avoiding mention of the specific city. Thus, it is certain that unequal development in the "southeast" regions was caused by the "national policy" itself. The third item above downplays the economic inequality caused by the national policy by attributing it to historical and social-cultural differences such as lifestyles. By omission of economic disparity, the textbook content ideologically justifies regionalism. The textbook only highlights the 'lagging behind' image of the southwest (Cholla) region .

> The region (*southwest*) has a scarce population density due to bad transportation and poor industrial development. When the new highway opens, bridging Taegu (*the capital city of the southeast*) and Kwangju (*the capital city of the southwest*), the region is expected to develop greatly. (84-SS1-106) (*my italic*)

Here, the factor causing underdevelopment in the southeast region is attributed to poor transportation facilities. Without a proper account of this matter, the textbook will not succeed in eradicating social discrimination and prejudice based on different lifestyles. The 1991 textbook finally attributes regional disparity as the source of social inequality.

> When cities increase in size, factories and job opportunities also increase. Unfortunately, so does the friction or conflict between various regions or people. In order to coordinate the conflict and thereby lead a comfortable life by working efficiently, we need a new organization. Government and companies are exemplary organizations to resolve conflicts. (91-SS3-91)

This excerpt appears to highlight the issue of social conflict by way of the unequal development of the region. However, it also misleads students into thinking that a rise in social conflict, such as the Kwangju Uprising in 1980 is a normal and a natural part of the modernization process. Furthermore, the subject of regionalism is exploited as a tool for propaganda by, for example, legitimating the government and economic institutions such as the corporation.

In this context, the above content conveys a message that is contrary to reality. The political and other economic institutions which are mostly responsible for the genesis of social conflict are instead depicted as the remedial bodies for solving society's problems. In this case, the textbook totally disguises the origin of the social conflict and the function of public institutions. For possible solutions, the textbook offers some examples:

> Likewise, regionalism and prejudice are the wicked heritage of a traditional society. When we reflect upon this, as a people who speak the same language, and living within a single day's journey, it is very shameful that our society is still separated due to regional emotions (91-SS3-110).

Although the subject does appear in the textbook, the way it is treated obscures the issue of social conflict by trivializing it as something shameful, but not as something to be eradicated.

So far, this analysis has focused on content about regionalism, particularly with reference to the two regions mentioned above. The following section will analyze content concerning the rural-urban split.

Rural-Urban Gap

Initial analysis of the rural-urban gap in Korean society has already been done in the Rural Development category (E 3). This section will focus further on social conflict arising from rural-urban relations. In the 1965 textbook, descriptions of the rural sector are preoccupied with the image of underdevelopment, as seen below.

> Because there are many impractical aspects in the village, farmers remain poverty-stricken as usual. Especially, they are distressed with facing the shortage of food in the spring season. The huge disparity of wealth between the city and villages tells us that society is not developing soundly. Therefore, it is an urgent social issue that requires solving because we have to improve our farmers' living standards by rationalizing village life by all means. (65-SS3-209).

Alongside the issue of poverty in the villages, the 1965 textbook presents the rural-urban gap as a serious social problem, thereby acquainting students with regional disparity.

> Compared to advanced countries, our villages have narrow farm land, are lagging behind in farming methods, and have not developed subsidiary production; thereby, they are earning little, and are never relieved from poverty. (75-SS3-14)

The excerpt from 1975 tends to reinforce a negative image of poverty. The rural sector is again described in derogatory terms, such as 'lagging behind', unmotivated and poor.

> While living in ignorance and poverty, they (farmers) never thought about overcoming poverty. Compared to depressed villagers, the cities and its boundaries are rapidly changing each day. Many, especially youths who are able to work, rush to the cities from the villages. (84-ME-181).

As a result of the influence of the New Community (Saemaul) Movement in the late 1970's, village people were portrayed as ignorant and poor, and the vicious circle of poverty in the rural sector was taken for granted. As a solution to disparity, the text advocates decentralizing the various institutions (86-SS3-315) and the importance of modernization (65-SS3-209). Like the issue of regionalism, rural-urban disparity is the result of a bias in the national demographic policy which limited the concentration of the populace and the industrialization to the cities to the southeastern portion of Korea. The textbook should have explained that the increase in urban population is part of the modernization process, and results from marginalization of the rural people.

> The capital zone is developed around Seoul, the political, economic, social and cultural center. (. . .) Due to available office space, the economic, cultural and diplomatic institutions are densely packed in Seoul, and the city is akin to being the brain of our country (75-SS1-24)

With regards to rural-to-urban migration then, the above description is partly responsible for reinforcing the image of the widening gap between the two sectors. The 60s and 70s textbooks depict the urban area as wealthier and more developed. In the 1990 textbook, the students are introduced to urban problems such as overpopulation and the oversized cities in much the same manner (91-SS3-172).

In summary, the textbook approach to Korean regionalism reveals a bias as early as 1965. The textbook deliberately represents one region as more prosperous and economically viable than another; for example, the Cholla region is depicted in derogatory terms, such as stagnant and poor. In fact, the differential treatment in the textbook directly reflects the national policy of industrialization, which favours the Kyungsang region. However, by attributing the cause of unequal development to the cultural and/or natural environment, the text does not highlight the differential allocation of socio-economic resources during the industrialization process. Importantly, in recent textbooks, the causes of this social inequality are still not linked to government policy.

As a different dimension of social inequality, textbook references to the urban-rural gap do not promote a proper understanding of unequal development either. Rather, the textbook reinforces this gap by depicting the rural sector as underdeveloped and dull. By describing the capital region as the center of the nation, the textbook depicts the social, economic and political importance of this region and thereby marginalizes other regions in the process. Due to this differential treatment afforded to the southern region and rural sectors, the textbook reinforces social prejudice and the stereotyping of people from certain regions or sectors.

6. Inequality of Ethnicity

This category focuses on ethnic/racial inequalities and intercultural understanding. For reference, one needs to know that Korea is the most homogeneous country in the world; 99% of the population is Korean. As analyzed in the section on Industrialization, the overall orientation to other cultures and ethnicity is mainly Western. Thus, this section will explore the representation of other countries in the textbooks. First of all, Korean textbooks overwhelmingly refer to the US, reflecting the close relations between the two countries.

> The US was the military arsenal of the Allies in WWII, and eventually became the world leader among the free nations. (65-SS1-225)

> US trade ranks at the top and the American have the power to command world trade. The country has a trade surplus every year, and it is also through US power that the world trade level has recovered drastically since WWII. (65-SS1-234)

The description of the superiority of Americans, politically as well as economically, engenders a dependent frame of mind in which students are led to think that the entire world is dependent on the American economy. An example is given below.

> The reconstruction of villages is a case where we are indebted to the strenuous endeavor of the people, and especially to the generous aid received from the US (65-ME-196).

The depiction of the US as economically strong and above all, generous enough to help poor nations, tends to produce a 'politically correct' image of the US. Thereby, the textbook hinders the development of a critical understanding of the American role in Korea by maintaining an unswervingly friendly representation of US-South Korea relations.

Along with the political and economic power of the US, the following content introduces American culture.

> The imported goods are staples and resources, and the fact that coffee and sugar accounts for a large percentage among these indicates the country's living standard. (65-SS1-234-5).

This content does not directly state the standard of living , but it does correlate the massive consumption of coffee and sugar in a society with the perceived American high standard of living. Interestingly enough, with reference to the post-war Korean standard of living , the consumption of sugar and coffee was initially introduced by American food aid. Consequently, the culture of the US was praised as much as its political and economic power. The above undue focus on the US, and a few other countries, as example of Western culture fails to illustrate the heterogeneosity of the Western culture.

> When taking a look at the political systems of the world, we can see there are various types of democracies. England had adopted a political system centered on the parliament; the US., the presidency, and the French adopted a synthesis of the two systems.(86-SS3-186)

By mentioning only these countries when discussing Western culture and authentic democracy, the idea that other countries have also adopted and emulated these systems is conveyed. By excluding other forms such as other non-Western countries' political systems, the above textbook hinders a true understanding of political systems which could otherwise be gleaned from an accurate portrayal of different countries' experiences.

This Western-oriented description in the textbook is also observed in the analysis of Korea's relations with other non-Western countries.

> Our country has established trading relationships, exporting our country's goods to many democratic countries worldwide and importing their goods. We have kept close linkages with Taiwan, Hongkong, Japan, the Philippines, Thailand, and other Asian countries. We are steadily trading with the countries of Europe, such as Belgium, France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland and United Kingdom. The countries of North America, the United States and Canada, have close ties with us in trading. In addition, various regions in Oceania, including Australia and many countries in Africa, have established a strengthening trade relationship with us.(65-SS3-273-4)

In this excerpt, the names of eleven Western countries, five Asian countries, and no African countries are mentioned. This identification of trading partners clearly parallels Korea's cultural and economic ties with those countries. The disproportionate representation of countries in the textbook reveals Korea's sense of crude economic determinism in exhibiting cultural understanding. As a result, the textbook might project the standpoint that the value of cultural importance is directly related to economic power; i.e., the wealth of nations. The following textbook content undoubtedly states similar viewpoints.

> There are other cultures in the world than the Oriental cultures like[16] ours and the Western cultures that we are trying to adopt. There are Arabic cultures in the Middle East, the Black culture in Africa, the island-oceanic culture of the Pacific Ocean, and other various cultures. (91-SS3-104).

Frankly, in advocating the need to adopt Western culture, the text is severely lacking in positive orientation not only towards other cultures but also towards Korea's own culture. Firstly, by presenting Western culture as a model culture to adopt, the textbook presents it as the superior or more 'civilized' of cultures among many. Secondly, the textbook freezes the concept of culture by fixing cultural boundaries to geographical location as if Black culture is exclusively located in Africa. The textbook fails to explain the multiplicity of cultures possible within a society. Thirdly, the above textbook orientation poorly promotes an understanding of Korean and oriental culture sui generis. As seen , the textbook identifies Korean culture with 'Oriental' culture. In this way, the above content does not attempt a precise understanding of even Korea's own cultural boundaries or of the complexity of Oriental cultures.

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[16] The Korean word, translated into 'like' in English, might be ambiguous. It can be understood both as 'similar', 'same as', 'like', and ' belong to'. Since there is another specific word in Korean to denote the meaning of 'belong to', the word is interpreted as meaning 'same as' or 'like' in this analysis. The matter of interpretation of the word is important, however, because interpretation is directly linked to the matter of analysis of content.

Last but not least, by using racial terminology, for example, the use of 'black' in describing the African culture, the text failed to approach consistency in describing different cultures. If the same principle applied to Western culture, the textbook would use the word 'White culture'. Thus, the textbook reveals its serious and possibly deliberate lack of cultural understanding of the complexity of culture in African. Another example of the improper treatment of certain cultures is evidenced in the description of aboriginal cultures, below.

> There are many islands in the Pacific Ocean. (. . .) These islands are divided into three sections, Micronesia, Melanesia and Polynesia. Despite their location in the tropical zone, the weather is pleasant and influenced by the sea. There are places like Hawaii, which is culturally developed, but most of these islands have scarce population and the natives are culturally backwards. (65-SS1-253)

Compared to the other islands, Hawaii is depicted as more developed. The description equates cultural development with the 'tourist' popularity and American influence over a region. It also reinforces a negative racist stereotype, that 'the natives are culturally backwards'. Similar issues can be seen in the quote below.

> The Eskimos in Alaska: The Eskimos lived by hunting seals and otters. However, they are more civilized in their life style, owing to the oil development and raising of deer supported by the US government. (75-SS1-217)

This text provides a biased understanding of native people, as well as the US government. Natives are stereotyped as people who depend on hunting for their living, which is seen as primitive. The US government helps civilize them by developing industries such as oil wells. It is easy to say that indigenous culture is primitive and that the US is very advanced, but this simplistic dualism is rooted in a deliberate mispresentation which is ideological and serves a higher purpose.

There is one country that deserves special attention in this analysis and it is Japan.

> It was after the liberation of Korea in 1945 from the wicked rule of the Japanese that democracy was introduced to Korea. (65-SS3-25)

In dealing with the political development of Korea, one adjective was translated into the word, 'wicked'. Although the colonial experience of Korea is a bitter memory, this particular depiction of Japan in Korean texts is nothing but an emotional projection of Koreans. In this case, the proper role of the text should be to convey the value of a sovereign nation and detach itself from a biased and emotional explanation of facts. Thus more excerpt provide additional examples of this treatment.

> The region (Southern Korea) is abundant with marine resources, yet due to poor fishing equipment and techniques, our marine resources are extracted by Japanese fishing boats which cross into Korean seas (peace line). (65-SS1-51-2)

> (. . .) as the international oil crisis exacerbated after the Middle East War of 1973, Japan changed its policy towards Israel in order to have an upper hand in the oil deals with the Arabic countries (. . .) (75-SS3-258)

This way of characterizing Korea's neighbor generates hatred and prejudice toward the Japanese, and does not attempt to provide a message aimed at resolving tensions between the two countries. The Japanese are presented as untrustworthy and opportunistic; they change their alliances based on self-interest. This slant is biased, distorted, and projects an emotional tone that is based solely on Korea's historical relationship with Japan.

In summary, the textbook's overall representation of other cultures or ethnic groups is geared mainly towards promoting American culture, which is generalized to include all Western culture. By projecting the US as a superpower, the textbook illustrates Western society as highly civilized, superior, and worthy of emulation. The image of the West in Korean textbooks is not a 'real' image of the West; it is rather a reconstructed concept of Westernization according to the Korean agenda. As Said (1978:3) writes, Orientalism is a Western style modelled for dominating, reconstructing and having authority over the Orient. Thus, Westernism in the Korean textbook is a concept designed for subordinating, constructing, and idolizing an image of the West. Therefore, the knowledge presented about the West in the textbooks is not factual information, but an imaginary construct which Korea desires to follow. This depiction of Western culture as a model for Korea is distorted, stereotypical and exclusive of other cultures.

It should also be noted that the textbooks clearly omit content about African culture, and also fail to complement it with adjectives. The textbook even uses racial terminology depicting African cultures as 'black'. This is a serious reduction of African cultures to the color of skin. This omission and misrepresentation reveals the shortcomings in the cultural or ethnic understanding of Africa.

Indigenous cultures are depicted derogatorily, in that natives are 'civilized' via their familiarity with and guidance from an 'advanced' cultural group like the US. This tone of the textbook serves the hidden agenda of the textbook, which is designed to reinforce the supremacy of Western culture by contrasting it with 'uncivilized' ones. The textbook is also flawed when describing Oriental culture in conjunction with Korean culture. By identifying Korea with Oriental culture, the textbook constructs a serious misunderstanding about the relationship between the two. On other cultures, the textbook reduces cultural boundaries to geographical locations. This perspective hinders understanding of the nature of culture, which is defined by its diversity in interacting with different cultures, and even in the reality of cultural transfer from one place to another. The textbook depiction of Japan is particularly unique. By describing Japan as opportunistic and cunning, the text reflects Korea's bitterness towards Japan due to the historical experience of colonization. This mode of treatment reinforces ethnic tension and provides no resolutions to the emotional tension that exists between the two countries.

Due to this eurocentric perspective in cultural understanding, the textbooks engender unequal treatment of different cultures. This concludes in the transmission of an imbalanced and biased perception of ethnic and racial inequalities which builds barriers to intercultural understanding.

CHAPTER VI

INTERPRETATION OF THE POLITICAL SPHERE

1. Type of Political System

This section focuses on textbook orientations toward democracy and communism. Throughout the textbooks under examination, democracy is characterized by the four virtues of such a political system. The passage of time has not altered this emphasis. Firstly, freedom is promoted as the ideal spirit of democracy.

> Democracy is geared toward building a society where everyone is free, as well as equal (84-ME-109).

Such presentations of freedom or liberty as prerequisites for a democratic system are usually accompanied by the idea of equality of opportunity.

Secondly, the content of textbooks imparts the logic of a democratic system in which equality of opportunity is defined within the context of individual differences.

> Because people are born and live in different environments, there might be differences in their capabilities and desires. Democracy recognizes these differences among people, and provides equal chances so that people can perform to their maximum abilities (90-SS2-173).

This emphasis on individual differences is designed to infuse and protect the liberal democratic conception of social inequality, as though inequality is caused only by *individual* differences in capabilities and desires.

> In our democratic society, any discrimination based on social class is discouraged and people will not be treated differently according to sex or different kinds of job. Each person serves society based on one's capabilities, thereby one can fulfill one's mission as human (65-SS3-217).

The inculcation of liberal democratic ideals advocating equal treatment according to individual differences obscures the reality that inequality and injustice exist in the name of equality. Furthermore, in presenting democracy as a given fact to be accepted, the textbook thereby demands voluntary service in its name.

Thirdly, textbooks depict democracy as a government of the people.

> As the government was established by the means of an election, the country and government is owned by the people. Needless to say, this government is democratic, and our country is systematically built upon democracy by establishing this government (65-SS3-64-5).

The implication here is that any government that is elected is democratic, and that any involvement of citizens in setting up a government makes that government legitimate and impartial. Most importantly, the South Korean government is considered as "unquestionably democratic" without any need to demonstrate its existence through consistent political practices and conduct.

This orientation to democratic political systems would seem to encourage support for any government policy by simply presenting the government as a body established by the people. Further, such a "people-voted" government is portrayed as the direct voice of the people, and as the purveyor of democratic ideas.

> Democracy means that the people are endowed with rights, democracy is run by the people, and it serves the people to let them live happily (90-SS2-176).

Here democracy is presented as a "benevolent" system which not only provides rights to the people, but also generates happiness in life.

Finally, closely linked to democracy's role in generating happiness in life are its responsibilities for the welfare of its citizens.

> All democratic countries rely on their liberal democratic systems to establish various social institutions, to protect the elders and the weak, those unable to work, and the have-nots. According to the principles of public well-being, people in democratic countries enjoy a wealthy and free life which is beyond the imagination of the communist countries (65-ME-203).

For students, the explicit message is that democratic countries are happy and safe places, offering wealth and freedom while at the same time protecting even those who are unable to provide for themselves (90-SS2-169). In sum, the textbooks do not develop the students' critical thinking about the realities of liberal democratic societies.

As is evident in the preceding example, the advantages of democratic systems are reinforced by contrasting them with a negative view of communist systems.

Democracy vs. Communism

Because a later section will examine the image of North Korea conveyed in Korean textbooks, the discussion here focuses on the contrasting images of democracy and a more generic communism.

> Although there are variances among the communist countries, the standard of living is miserable and homogeneous. By means of various documents, you learn enough to know that life in the communist countries is in distress while appreciating how much your free life is better than their's (65-SS1-221).

Democracy is clearly superior in both the political and economic realms. In the texts examined, the contrasting images of democracy and communism articulated in terms of the four virtues of democracy: individual liberty, equality of opportunity, government of/by the people and collective responsibility for all citizens. First, unlike the portrayal of liberal, free democracy, communist rule is depicted as one that does not allow freedom.

> People under communist rule are fated to a life undeserving of humans, and they are groaning under an oppressive rule which leaves no room for breathing (75-SS1-61).

Secondly, equality within communism is depicted as a defect of the system, whereas egalitarianism in democracy is seen to enhance individual motivation and societal well-being.

> The North Korean people are losing their motivation to work. Regardless of how much you work hard, the reward is not individually allocated, but is equally distributed to everybody. Therefore, the people are unmotivated to work (84-ME-262).

Here communist equality, interpreted as the equal distribution of results, is seen to dampen the motivation to work. This is in contrast to democracy where equality is understood as an equal chance to opportunity that consequently brings about unequal results and even the prospect of individual wealth. In addition to articulating different concepts of equality, textbooks are explicit in their assessment of which form is preferable in terms of individual motivation.

Thirdly, textbooks portray communist rule as a dictatorship.

> Because this government type in the Soviet Union cannot avoid the concentration of power in order to maintain the strong government role of communist rule, the government type under communism must be a dictatorship (65-SS3-105).

In comparison, by using referenda as the defining expression of the will of the people, government in a democracy is deliberately defined as a legitimate state power.

Descriptions of communist countries such as the Soviet Union and East Germany, as poor (65-SS1-215,221) and underdeveloped is distinctive in the 1965 textbook, testament to the legacy of the Cold War and the post-Korean war period. The following excerpt epitomizes the textbooks' orientation toward communism and democracy.

> Let's think about reasons for rejecting communism (65-SS3-109).
>
> Democracy is the most desirable political type (86-SS3-174).

Overall, textbooks depict democracy as the only political system which inherently secures freedom, equality, government of and by the people and which takes collective responsibility for all citizens. In contrast, communism is characterized as producing oppressive dictatorships and draconian systems that produce bleak living conditions for all.

Korean Style Democracy

Since textbooks construct a highly idealized, ideological representation of democracy, it is important to analyze the content advocating a Korean style democracy.

> The very first draft of the constitution is founded on the British parliamentary system. However, by the advocation of Dr. Seungman Lee, the structure was changed into a presidential system and passed in the National Assembly (. . .) (65-SS3-65).

The linkage of the first draft of the constitution to the British parliamentary system promotes an 'independent' image for the draft, free from Japanese colonial influence by referring to the British Also, mentioning the change from a parliamentary to a presidential system reveals an American influence, the first president was educated in the U.S. These two aspects are relevant in understanding the backdrop of the establishment and transformation of the political system in Korea. Concerning the external influences of the American and Japanese upon Korean politics, the 1975 textbook expresses a 'radical' opinion.

> The Western style political system, economy, and culture that was introduced to us, and had no relation to our own, not only retaining various contradictions and flaws, but also barriers to national development and prosperity. Therefore, since the October Yushin (Revitalization) Constitution was enforced, things started to change by it (75-ME-161).

By referring to the constitutional amendment (October Revitalization Constitution in 1972) as the beginning of the Korean style of democracy, the textbook fulfills its role in the consolidation of state power by the military regime of the time.

> The voting system is opposed to its true intention of reflecting the people's opinions of politics. It not only invests enormous energy and money, but also obstructs efficient administration, or even unstabilizes the nation by fragmenting national opinion enough to endanger the nation's security (75-SS3-42).

> The National Conference of Unification (NCU) is the highest among the state organizations in our constitution and is a unique body (75-SS3-48).

In order to legitimate indirect voting in presidential elections through the NCU, the text highlights the inefficiency of direct voting. The NCU was empowered to elect the president and to amend the constitution, with the full consent of the legislature, so that the authoritarian government, in a democratic garment tailored to 'Korean needs' could perform its repressive acts armed with an anti-communist ideology. When the textbook endorses a particular regime's propaganda as a 'Korea's style' of government, without specific discussion about its demerits or the historical context, it becomes a puppet of the state.

In short, this is a huge gap between the ideal image of democracy and the actual Korean style democracy, which is marked by repressive features. In fact, democracy was neither achieved, nor Koreanized. For a further understanding of the workings of various political institutions designed to realize the democratic ideal, one needs to analyze the components of democracy in Korea, such as the constitution, the tripartite and the party system.

The Constitution

The 1965 textbook presented a brief review of the historical origin of the first constitution. It came into existence in 1948, prior to the Korean War.

> Although it was passed more than 10 years ago when the government was established in 1948, the constitution has been amended quite a few times. Although the constitution can be amended and should be in order to able to cope with the ever changing and developing trends, the amendment history of our nation was initiated not by those reasons. It was rather motivated by the goal or interests of the political power to alter the presidential election system in order to let a presidential candidate be elected, and/ or to modify the government system in order to seize political power, etc. (65-SS3-69).

Firstly, the above focuses on the frequent amendments of the constitution rather than on the nature and role of the constitution *per se* in a democratic system. On the frequent amendments of the constitution, Palais explains,

> The amendments of 1962 by the military regime was the fifth major revision of the constitution in a decade ('52,'54, '58, '60, and '62), and they contributed to the declining prestige of the constitution and its utility as a source of legitimacy (Palais, 1973:334).

By focussing on the frequent change of constitution, the textbook excerpt reflects the political milieu of 1961-1963. That is, the 1965 textbook content was not fully controlled by the state due to the hiatus between the departing civil government and incoming military (Park's) regime. The organizers of the 1965 textbook appeared to possess autonomous power in presenting the subject via a more critical perspective, without endorsing any political line.

> In order to actively cope with the rapidly changing situation inwardly and outwardly, and to strengthen the consolidation from within, the constitution was broadly amended by referendum (. . .) The present constitution is known as the Yushin Constitution (75-SS3-47).

In contrast, the legitimation of the 1972 constitutional amendment was aimed to consolidate all political power to the military regime. By hanging the Sword of Damocles over the people for political repression, the text props up the image of instability within and without. The amended (Yushin) constitution is depicted as below.

> The power of the state means the exercising of its authority for solving various problems and maintaining public order. The authority in democratic countries is grounded upon the people's consensus, that is, the constitution (86-SS3-182).

The 'Yushin' constitution is depicted as if it were founded upon the people's consensus resulting in the state's ability to exercise its legitimate power over the people. In reality, the epoch's constitution was nothing but a state tool to control state power by appropriating the ideals of democracy under the guise of the consensus of people.

Enforcement of state power is justified by stating that the power comes from the people. Hence the text directs students to accept the constitution as integral for constituting a democratic society.

> Therefore, compliance with the principles and rules as inscribed in the constitution is the most important first step in realizing democracy in this land (86-SS3-222).

This illustrates the aim of citizenship education, that is, compliance which is described as the beginning of democracy. The inculcation of observance of the constitution as a mandatory duty in a democratic society is claimed to be necessary for solving problems and maintaining social order. However, a critical purpose of citizenship education is not to fit the student into the existing society. Rather, Giroux argues,

> (. . .) its primary purpose must be to stimulate their (students') passions, imaginations, and intellects so that they will be moved to challenge the social, political, and economic forces that weigh so heavily upon their lives. In other words, students should be educated to display civic courage, that is, the willingness to act as if they were living in a democratic society (1983a:351).

Due to the heavy emphasis on law-abidance, the textbook obscures the contradictory nature of democracy which is dependent upon both the protection and confinement of the individual by the constitution. Furthermore, can democracy only be realized in Korea if one is subservient to the demands of the 'democratic' state?

Tripartite System

In as early as the 1965 textbook, the necessity for a tripartite system in the state has been discussed.

> When the principles of the tripartite state are overemphasized, and the three powers become too independent and compete with each other, then the operation of state affairs becomes difficult. For freedom and people's well-being, the three powers should be separate as well as cooperative (65-SS3-85).

In the discussion of the tripartite system, this excerpt presents a balanced view between the necessity of the system and the possibility of abusing it, so that the students are exposed to the possible range of problems inherent in the tripartite system. In contrast, the following excerpt diminishes the significance of the tripartite system.

> However, the modern state is required to do more work for the increased well-being of the people. In this case, the state is in need of increased administrative power. Therefore, the tripartite system in the modern state is not as important as it was before (75-SS3-29).

The text directly reflects the interests of President Park's military regime, where executive (government) power overpowered the other two functions of the state, the legislature and the judiciary. This tendency of domination of the executive over the other two has been evident from the first "democratic" regime of President Rhee in 1948-60 (Palais, 1973:327; Beer, 1991:277). The tone of authoritarian regime still lingers on in the 1986 textbook.

> In our country, state power consists of the legislature, the executive, and the judiciary power which is exercised by the National Assembly, government and courts. However, there are cases when the legislature intervenes in the executive or the judiciary, or when the government intervenes in the legislature and judiciary, or even when the judiciary intervenes in the legislature and the executive (86-SS3-178).

The second half of the above excerpt depicts intervention as usual and probable in any aspect within the tripartite system. It also disguises the authoritarian nature of government intervention particularly during the 1980's when such intervention was commonplace (Shaw, 1991; Lewis, 1988) by implying that all branches intervened in the affairs of the others. This is an example of the textbook disguising the authoritarian nature of this government by purposely cloaking and jumbling up significant facts.

Party System

With regard to the political party system, the 1965 textbook gives a fair picture of development and role of parties.

> The political party comes into being in order to realize the opinions of people uniting voices and arguing that their political line is in the right direction. Therefore, by compiling the people's ideas and views, the political party's role is to organize the people's voice so that it should not cease to be a mere cry but it should be reflected in state policy (65-SS3-98).

Again, the textbook of the mid '60s reflects some autonomy of textbook writers amid the unstable political environment. Accordingly, it teaches that the concept of the political party is to reflect the people's voice, thereby indicating that the direction of politics is supposed to be from the bottom-up. In contrast, a later text defines the party as the amalgamation of people's consent according to the party's line, not as the reflector of people's opinions.

> The political party, organized by the people with the same political line is a group primarily aimed at possessing political power. In general, the political party strives to occupy as many seats as possible in the National Assembly, so as to form a ruling party. In order to do so, the party attempts to promulgate their arguments and ideas to the people and then seek consent from them (75-SS3-31).

This content directly reflects the authoritarian regime that sought the people's 'consent' for their political agenda.

> The conflict from individual interests and different opinions can be resolved through the party or the National Assembly according to the procedure described in the law. Therefore, democracy can only develop and grow with democratic attitudes and the ability to compromise (86-SS3-181).

Political institutions, such as the party as well as the National Assembly, are depicted as functional organizations with the purpose of regulating diverse opinions and interests in a democratic society. Naively depicting those organizations as fair and impartial, the textbook might mislead the student into ignoring the existence of power groups and structural impediments to fair play. As a way of stressing the importance of acquiring democratic attitudes on an individual level, the textbook infuses the 'romantic' idea of the necessity for citizens to negotiate or compromise, so that severe conflict will not destroy the nation's order.

In summary, the textbook equates democracy with the concept of freedom, equality, the republic and the welfare system. Most importantly, the textbook attempts to implant the image of democracy as a system which intrinsically ensures those virtues. In contrast, it disparages communism, which is depicted as a flawed system that produces oppression and inequality, dictatorship, and an impoverished society. This ideological description serves to legitimate Korea's democratic system not only to maintain the ideological divisions between the two Koreas, but also to justify their ideological confrontation.

As for the fundamental political constituents of the democratic system, the textbook elaborates on the constitution, the tripartite and party system. In dealing with these political systems, the 1965 textbook presents a fair view, at least as compared to the next volume's content. The 1975 textbook reflects a highly state-controlled message about institutions. For example, it justifies the necessity of constitutional amendments, not according to the people's will, but in adherence to that particular regime's agenda, i.e., the consolidation of state power. On constitutional amendments, the impression is given that they are grounded upon the people's consent. In reality, the ideological message concerning the Yushin constitution is aimed at ensuring compliance with the law, while attempting to present it as a public and consensual product.

Concerning the tripartite system, most textbooks excepting 1965 deliberately present an accurate perspective on the dominance of the executive (government) over the other two functions of the state. As for references to the party system, the textbook also reveals an authoritarian approach, teaching students to accept the party line rather than listening to the voice of the people.

2. Role of Citizens and Leaders

This section deals with the role of citizens and the nature of leaders, and is concerned with patriotism, nationalism and the depiction of heroes in stories.

It is relevant to recall the reciprocal yet unequal relationship of the ruler and the subject in Confucianism, because this primary definition is evident throughout Korean political practice.

Abiding with the Law

The subject of abiding with the law is stressed as one of the citizen's primary duties to the nation throughout the textbooks from 1965 to 1991.

> The law defines things pertaining to the rights and duties of the people. When people do not exercise their rights or fulfill their duties as prescribed by the law, the nation's order will be shattered in a day (65-SS3-51).

As a way of emphasizing the citizen's duty, the tone is emotional and extreme, where the consequence of not observing the law is depicted as destroying the nation's order in a day. This tone is also found in the 1984 textbook (SS1-209). This intimidating tone highlights the narrow view that identifies respect for the law with political responsibilities. The delivery of the message is a one sided view of the relationship between subject and state which enables the state to utilize submission to law to promote its political agenda. For example, the 1975 textbook (SS3-87) emphasizes such obedience to the law as the means to achieve national development and social order. In the 1990 textbook (SS2-197, 229,231), the earlier obligatory tone of the message is transformed into a call for social justice, public well-being and democracy.

The Citizen's Duty

> The way to contribute to the nation's development is not difficult. It is by understanding the proper relationship between the individual and country, by doing your own work and taking full responsibility for oneself, by cooperating well with one's neighbors and community, by fulfilling sincerely the duty of national defense, paying taxes, and obeying the law that one can contribute to the nation's development (86-SS3-251).

The message implies that every citizen is responsible for the failures and successes of national development, in the attempt to make citizens comply with all the duties that the state deems necessary. This perspective (65-SS3-192,91-SS3-48) tends to present a limited view of the relationship between the state and its constituency, by highlighting only the responsibilities of citizens and not the reciprocal duties required by the state. This can be partly attributed to the authoritarian state where the rights of the people have been weakened and their duties increased (Palais, 1973:350).

> By devoting themselves to duty, the people should strive to contribute to the nation, directly and/or indirectly. The soldier at the frontline, the workers on the production line, the students at schools, are faithfully committing themselves to their roles, which indicates their love for the nation (75-ME-111).

Here the citizen's obligatory role is extended to defending the nation and working hard. Although textbooks bring up the issue of the notorious students' demonstrations and labor union movements of the 70's and 80's, the examples are used to imply that those who do not comply with the requirements of these roles are regarded as violators of their duty as citizens, not as defenders of citizen's right. The idea of a nation or state dominating over the individual hovers over the everyday lives of Koreans. This message of observing one's duty to the state is evident throughout the period from 1965 to 1991.

Cooperation and Participation

> The essential condition of people's cooperation determines the results of economic planning. Because economic planning in a democratic nation is drafted for the people and by the people, any economic planning cannot be implanted without the people's cooperation. (65-SS3-168)

The purpose of stressing economic development as the symbol of public good is to bring people's consensus and cooperation in line with state policy. Yet, the 1965 textbook warns against blind compliance.

> Democracy cannot grow where blind obedience and indifference to politics thrive. In such an atmosphere, the people believe that they are subordinate to the government because they believe that politics are only for the higher status groups, or that the party or politicians only can be involved in politics (65-SS3-112).

A later textbook implies that any government plan can be regarded as for the common good, requiring that all people comply with the policy and voluntarily cooperate to work for the nation's future.

> Now we should deeply acknowledge that we are proud masters of a sovereign state, our nation is my country and that our government is my government. Accordingly, we should keep in mind that our duty as the masters of a sovereign state is to cooperate actively with various things such as economic policy, national security policy, and welfare policy, that the government carries out and then we should serve for it (86-SS3-251).

While infusing a sense of voluntary cooperation with government policy, the textbooks repeatedly emphasize the fulfillment of one's duty as the love for nation. In order to achieve consensus, the textbooks of the 70's and 80's constantly instill the spirit of participation, either by urging people to see themselves as the 'rightful' owners of the nation or by instilling in them a sense of democratic participation.

> Let us think about the various ways we junior high school students can participate in the October Yushin (Revitalization) Project (75-ME-17).

The teaching of the importance of participating in national projects such as the above has a profound impact on the framing of students' political consciousness. While directly instructing students about the responsibilities of citizens, i.e., participation, the textbook deliberately masks the nature of the 1972 October Constitution "which deprives of freedom and loss of political and civil rights" (Cohen and Baker, 1991). State dominance really tends to generate the conceptualization of the citizen's rights as duty bound to blind compliance and participation with state demands.

Even in the 1985, 1990, and 1991 textbooks, the subject of national participation is heavily emphasized, this time to raise people's participation, in order to promote the changes being produced by the mood of democratization in the society. In this way, the textbooks seem to fulfill a unifying role which is contiguous with the accelerating development of liberalization and pluralism in South Korea.

Provided as essential element of socio-political participation, participation in voting is highly emphasized in the 1965 textbook.

> Voting is an instrument of the political process which ensures people's welfare and freedom. We can never aspire to democracy if a large number of people forfeit voting rights, corrupt through under-handed means, a vote for personal reasons. Therefore, people should exercise their right in a proper way and carry at their duty, thereby ensuring that the political process serves the people (65-SS3-111).

While the problem of corruption is raised, the question of who is responsible for the corruption is not raised. When reflecting upon the political history of Korean society, it is known that some regimes[17] have engaged in corruption (Palais,1973, West and Baker, 1991), excepting the present government. In this context, the textbook teaches students the ideals of politics, while in reality the politics of deception is practiced . Whereas the early textbook of 1965 (SS3-95) emphasized participation in voting, the later (86-SS3-247, 91-SS3-25) textbooks put more emphasis on the importance of electing the most worthy person, as seen below.

> Accordingly, when people are involved in an election, they should cast a vote for the most worthy candidates; one who will serve[18] the nation (90-SS2-194).

While textbooks deal with the 'various' roles of the citizen such as obedience to the law, observing duty as a citizens, cooperation, and participation in politics and voting, they seldom deal with leadership. This seems to reveal the cultural context in which citizens have more duties than their leaders. In the 1965 textbook, the role of the leader is not clearly mentioned. This silence on the role of leader partly reflects the era's immature political institutions and the unstable political situation. However, the text may have downplayed the rise of the military regime in 1961. Amid this politically 'incorrect' and unstable situation, it may have been too early to clearly formulate the role of a leader.

The 1975 textbook brings into clearer focus the image of leader.

> From the perspective of politics, the economy and humanitarianism, the unification of our land requires the building of the nation with one's own ethnic group as the supreme goal. Thus, the president, Chunghee Park called upon North Korea for cooperation in development by putting an end to political hostilities. Thereby, ending the North-South Korean impasse that has lasted for over a quarter of a century (75-SS3-261-2).

There is no other president whose name is cited more frequently than that of President Park (75-SS3-252,262). He is mentioned in relation not only to the political realm, but also with regards to economic development. He is cited as the prime motivator for the nation's biggest movement, the New Community Movement, in the 1970s. This movement was the invention of that particular era, desperatly in searching for a source of political legitimation. Therefore, he was portrayed as the best, if not the only, leader who could maintain a strong defensive posture against the communist threat (Palais, 1973). It is notable that the textbook depicts President Park as a leader who could solve even the nation's largest challenge, the pursuit of reunification, although it has yet to be attained.

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[17] After the oil crises in the 70's and 80's, the government collected taxes based on the consumption of oil and gas in order to save money for future energy emergencies. The so-called, 'Petroleum Fund' was eventually channelled towards the presidential election of Roh, taewoo in 1987.

[18] The meaning of the verb, 'to serve the nation' can be interpreted as the act of devoting oneself to public affairs with the priority being of public well-being over one's personal interests.

Compared to the 1975 textbook where the president is mentioned by name, the 1984 textbook only refers to the official title of the 'president'.

> The sovereign of the nation is the president who is elected by the people. The president is the person[19] who assumes heavy responsibilities for domestic affairs. He is responsible for defending the security of the people from external threats; industrialization and land development for the prosperity of the nation; the establishment of schools so that we can study; and other tasks many and difficult. Also, the sovereign is the person who protects the sovereignty of our nation within the international community, and represents our nation in diplomatic affairs (84-ME-153).

By listing the various responsibilities of the presidentship, such as national defense, economic development, and education, the nature of the leader in the 1984 textbook is more concrete and practical, compared to the presidential image in the 1975 textbook. An affectionate fatherly image is implied by describing the leader as the person who builds the schools so that we can study. This paternal image of the leader is a direct reflection of Confucianism (Hsu, 1932). More importantly, the president is seen to be the symbolic representative of the nation, a position upon which the nation's unity is based.

There are other symbols that serve to bind the nation into a whole and all these symbolic meanings and manners are discussed under the following categories.

Patriotism

Patriotism is an abstract feeling, translated into concrete perceptions through ceremonies and national symbols, such as the national anthem, the flag and heroic figures in legends and stories.

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[19] The Korean word 'person' is not exactly translated into English. The Korean word means a honorification for the person, who deserves the esteem. In everyday speech, the word designates someone who is older than the user of the word.

> As cultivated people, we are obliged to solemnly sing our national anthem, in which our people's wishes are enshrined, and to pay our respect to the sovereign (75-ME-57).

By equating the sovereign with the national anthem, the above content attempts to generate a solemn respect for this national symbol. The president is recognized as an authoritative figure who deserves respect and honor from his/her subjects. Thus, the symbol encourages a unified consciousness. The following story of 'The National Flag That I Kept, set in the period of Japanese colonial rule, is held in high regard.

> I secretly made a tiny wooden box made of board and nail, carefully folded and put the national flag and then stored it up inside the bedroom cabinet. During every possible moment, I opened the cabinet, and my heart was overwhelmed with a vibrant love for the nation. (75-ME-105)

Amid the loss of Korean sovereignty under Japanese colonial rule, this identification with the flag is meant to inspire students to a patriotic love for their nation. A change of tone is evident in the 1984 textbook.

> We must endeavor to learn and practice the manners for the national flag, sovereign, and sovereignty. This is the way of loving the nation (84-ME-153).

Whereas the 1975 textbook develops an emotional ethos in dealing with the national flag, the above has a more formal, practical tone.

Patriotism is not only manifested in national ceremonies but also in the stories of heroes in order to implant in the student the sentiments of solidarity and dedication to the nation. The 1965 textbook does not relate heroic tales. Instead, it relates specific incidents of student riots against Japanese colonialism and peoples' persistence against Communism during the Korean War. The content of the 1965 textbook concerning heroic incidents is preserved in value-laden statements rather than in the recollection of stories *per se*.

> The fact that many students fought courageously, risking their lives in the face of the nation's crisis, is a matter of national pride which recalls the spirit of Wharang. We should not forget the sacred examples of our seniors who went to war voluntarily in order to defeat the communist invasion. Following our seniors' footsteps, we should be armed with the weapons of justice and courage, dedicating our life at all times for our country (65-ME-91).

The above text says that no one, not even young students, are exempted from defending the nation. The anonymity of these heroes in the 1965 textbook is in contrast to the following:

> Among our forefathers, although there are many great figures, General Lee, Soonshin is a remarkable person, and the indomitable hero who defended the nation amid the crisis of Hideyoshi's (Japanese) Invasion of Korea in 1592. (. . .) He is armed with the great virtues of loyalty, courage, justice, hope and honesty. He is

> the great hope of the people and is the symbol of our people. (. . .) At the Sea Battle at Noryang in December,1598 after pursuing the retreating enemy and sinking over 200 ships, General Lee met a heroic death in the battle, killed by enemy fire (75-ME-113-7).

The character of the hero displays all the necessary virtues, but the most virtuous of all is the sacrifice of one's own life for the safety of the nation. It is important to note that the representation of the general as a historical hero is contextually bound. President Park was also a general in the military, and his military coup is depicted in the 1965 textbook (SS3-67-68) as a patriotic act delivering the nation from despair and chaos. General Lee's patriotic act is also stressed in the 1984 textbook (ME-13), found in the reflection of General Chun. A more impersonal heroism is again evident in the 1990 textbook:

> When reflecting upon our country's history, there are so many respectable people who sacrificed their lives for our country. Those who died heroic deaths while fighting the invading enemy, and those who met their death in foreign lands while striving for the independence of our country (90-ME-178).

These references to patriotism in heroic stories serves to justify the process of nationalism.

Nationalism

One of the characteristics of the early textbook descriptions is that the image of the nation are highly emotional.

> The heart of thirty million people is filled with the will to defend our country and our land, especially since we regained our land after the bloody battle with Japan (65-ME-6).
>
> The people without a nation live in a more miserable situation than orphans without parents. The people cannot exist as one people and prosper without nation (75-SS3-8).

This 1975 textbook excerpt compares the nation to that of the parent, so that the student may empathize with the nation, and establish immediate personal relations with it. This aspect coincides with the paternal image of leader that was discussed earlier in this section.

The following attempts to generate a sense of 'we-ness' under the idea of a nation.

> When our ancestors put a higher value on the nation than upon their life or personal pleasure, and when the nation unites us as one when we listen to or watch our nation in an international game, that is nothing but our nation, my country. (84-ME-138)

Portraying the nation in the international scene also aims at inculcating nationalism, as the following examples confirm.

> The fact that our country can hold big international events like the '86 Asian Games, and '88 Seoul Olympics means that our country has achieved a certain level of accomplishment that is high enough to hold those events (84-SS1-34).

> Through trade, our country achieved economic growth and established close ties with other countries. After the '88 Seoul Olympics, Korea has now greatly expanded its presence around the world, by establishing political and diplomatic relationships with most other countries in the world (91-SS3-252).

By mentioning major international events, the content takes advantage of these accomplishments, to solidify the prides of the citizens.

In summary, throughout the period from 1965 to 1990, the textbooks emphasizes the fulfillment of the citizen's role in comparison with the leaders' role. The citizen is obliged to comply with the duties that the state identified, such as abiding by the law, active participation and cooperation in the economic, political and social development of the nation. The act of voting is highlighted as a citizen's duty, rather than as a citizen's political right. Whereas the citizen's role is passively defined by the government, the leader's role is designed to fit the image that was appropriate to the era. The 1965 textbook, however, does not provide any specific description concerning the role of the leader, since the decade was characterized by the political instability. In the 1975 textbook, the image of the leader is constructed around the active defense of the nation, economic development, and even the task of reuniting family separated during the Korean War. The image of the leader in the 1984's textbook is oriented to more formalized roles; for example, the textbook does not name a particular president. One of the most important images of the leader is a symbolic one - one that unifies the nation by appealing to patriotism. Symbols of patriotism also serve to foster national identity. The virtue of sacrificing one's life as exemplified in heroic stories, and fulfilling one's duty as a citizen, and being a proud member of a nation which stages international events such as the Olympics are all appropriated for the internalization of loyalty and pride of the nation.

3. National Security

This section deals with national defense, the issue of reunification[20] and militarization. As the three issues are interconnected, the analysis will look at the textbooks chronologically.

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[20] The term of reunification will be used in the context of relating North and South Korea, whereas the term of unification will be utilized in the socio-political context, referring to the nation of South Korea.

The 1965 textbooks

In terms of the international scene, the sixties can be characterized as the Cold War period. Domestically, South Korea was recovering from the aftermath of the Korean War and concentrating its efforts on rebuilding the nation. Due to the constant threat of confrontation with its counterpart regime in the North, the process of nation building in South Korea was also accompanied by a concern for national security. "It is a lesson for us that an unstable society along with our uncertain belief, will only inflame the burning desire for a communist invasion." (65-ME-53) After the Korean War, the threat of war was enough to turn Koreans against political dissidents, pro-communists and opposition political factions of the time. The political confusion of the time fuelled fear that the country would be unable to resist an invasion from the North (Palais, 1973:330).

The existence of communism in the North did, however, provide political pressure which fostered the goal of national security.

> In order to achieve a reunified democratic state, we must have basic capabilities for establishing it; that is, by accomplishing achievements incomparable to the North Korean communist dictators in the areas of politics, economy, culture and the social institutions of Daehanminkuk[21] grounded upon liberal democratic ideals. (65-ME-193)

The call for national reunification in the above text is explicitly placed after the achievement of national development in South Korea. By stating the necessity for and the building a moral power for a national and democratic unification, South Korea was also setting itself apart as a different and superior nation. Accordingly, the reunification issue turned into advocacy for nation-building so that South Korea could achieve a superior developmental level. In fact, by presupposing the incompatibility of South and North Korea, the above message infuses the concept of competition rather than reconciliation.

Anxious to maintain a superior, or at least equal, military strength to the North, South Korea justified its defense policies by instilling a fear of communism (65-ME-27, 53).

> As long as the North and South are not reunified as a democratic state (or not guaranteed rights in the international community), the unconditional withdrawal of foreign troops is the most dangerous and impractical position that paves the road to communism in our country. (65-ME-30)

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[21] It designate the official title of South Korea in Korean pronunciation and Republic of Korea (ROK) in English.

The above extract illustrates how the state legitimation of militarism resulted from a strong sense of insecurity. Furthermore, this text favors the mutual interests of the US and ROK in stemming the tide of communism in the Far East. This is again highlighted below.

> The strategic priorities of the United States are to protect its territories from the Soviet threat, to secure economic prosperity by constraining Soviet global expansion, to maintain democratic values and ideology in the free world, and to establish a world order favorable to the United States. South Korea's strategic importance in implementation of these priorities will be the key elements in U.S. policy toward South Korea. (. . .) For South Korea, on the other hand, the importance of its relationship with the United States and of the U.S. role in deterring North Korean military adventurism cannot vary easily. (Cha, 1986:136)

At the height of the Cold War era, South Korea's anti-communist tactics were in keeping with the American influence. Accompanying the justification of defense policies were guidelines for social unification."Regarding the current debate on reunification, we must coherently support the reunification policy following the government line in any case." (65-ME-193) By presenting the government's reunification policy as the only path to take, a case is made for constraining any other counteraction; these are condemned as illegitimate or anti-state movements. The authorization of the government's political agenda is aimed at mobilizing state power over civil society.

Overall, the 1965 textbooks outline the basic ideals which support the issues of national defense, militarization and reunification. These textbooks attempt to convey the message that the nation should defend itself against communism, endorse the deployment of foreign forces, and support any government policy on the reunification issue.

The 1975 textbooks

The 1975 textbook content further elaborates the issue of national security.

> There are strong countries like Red China, the Soviet Union and Japan surrounding us, who act only in their own interests. From this context, we must always be prepared and in a position that enables us to cope with any emergencies, in order to preserve the nation, people and democracy. This is the reason that we immediately need to cultivate our national strength by enacting the Yushin Constitution so that we establish a system solidifying national power. (75-SS3-39)

In the above content, the issue of national security is manipulated to legitimate any political intervention. The amendment of the Yushin Constitution in 1972 during President Park's regime consolidated the power of the regime, and justified the development of national security according to geopolitical vulnerabilities. Hence, the excerpt above claims that solidarity in national defense and security can only be attained by legitimating the Yushin Constitution. By utilizing the national security issue, the people are politically manipulated.

Other references (SS3-43, 263, 264) also advocate solidarity for the sake of national development.

> In dealing with the communists, we require national strength to solidify the national system, in order to take the initiative and active role towards reunification. From this perspective, if we are fragmented and halt construction, we will reveal our weaknesses to the communists, and the progress towards reunification will fail. (75-SS3-45)

The 1975 textbook excerpts stress social, economic and political development (SS1-84) as prerequisites for reunification, just as the 1965 textbook prioritizes the task of nation building over that of reunification.

It is necessary to review the background of the stress on economic growth as related to the national defense issue during Park's regime. Under the Carter administration (1977-81), American foreign policy was reviewed according to the criterion of human rights. (Scalapino, 1979). South Korea's human rights practices[22] were under moral scrutiny during the process of negotiating the military assistance program with the US (Forsythe, 1983, Cohen and Baker, 1991). From this context, it is easy to understand why Park's military regime sought to build economic power, so that they could avoid heavy political and military dependence upon the US.

> Despite our divided lands, our country is trying to achieve peaceful reunification. Internally, we must protect ourselves by strengthening our military power and cultivating state power; externally, we must prosper by strengthening our friendly ties to other democratic nations. (75-SS3-66)

Concerning the reunification issue, the above content conveys the notion of power as an achievement of a strong unified society, one which has achieved military force and economic development. However, the phrase, "peaceful reunification" is merely a rhetorical expression that contains within it the subtext of legitimized militarization and the deployment of foreign (American) military forces. Therefore, the textbook instills in the student the idea of competition, in the sense that South Korea must display itself as a 'developed and powerful' nation compared to North Korea, rather seeking a peaceful solution. The treatment of reunification in the textbook reflects the ideological claim for militarization, economic development and political solidarity.

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[22] Detailed examples of human rights practices will be presented in the upcoming section on human rights (P5). The typically authoritarian regimes of Park in the '70s, and Chun in the '80s were notorious for the tragic retrogression and repression of human rights (Beer, 1991:280, Forsythe, 1983:97).

> In our nation, military defense expenditure and financial investments and loans for economic development account for the largest portion of government expenditures. This means that government put its priority for the military defense and economic development. (75-SS3-134)

President Park's obsessive drive towards militarization was partly due to the continuing and increasing pressure from the United States regarding Park's violation of human rights. As a way of countering the pressure from the US and the threat of American withdrawal of troops, Park decided to construct and to strengthen Korea's own independent military force (Cha, 1986:139) as well as to increase economic development. The end result of this close match between economic development and militarization in the 70s will be explored further in the 80s textbook. There, the strong advocacy of militarization placed the unification issue in a different context.

> The National Conference for Unification (NCU), as the most distinguished institution of our political structure, is organized for the peaceful reunification of our fatherland. (75-SS3-51)

Entrusted with the sacred mission of reunifying the fatherland, the NCU was a state apparatus designed for the legislative function of amending the constitution, including the extension of the presidential term without any limitations (Lewis, 1988:56). The institution, which aimed at mobilizing state power, was represented as the political body designed exclusively for the mission of reunification. In addition , President Park himself was presented as the central figure of that mission (75-SSS3-263). Park thus used the reunification issue as a means of legitimizing his leadership and creating a repressive political system (Palais,1973: 341). During this era, the issue of national security was exploited for government propaganda whatever and whenever necessary, but particularly for the sake of increasing military force, consolidating the regime's power, and promoting economic development.

The 1985 textbook

Like the 1965 and 1975 textbooks, the 1985 textbook content about national security begins with a reference to communism.

> At the moment, they (the North Korean Communist regime) have not given up their savage desire for communist unification, and strive to obstruct our political development by destabilizing our society at any moment. Therefore, we must endeavor to protect democracy while maintaining a defense posture like an iron cage so that they cannot denigrate our society. (84-SS1-161)

The war against communism as proclaimed by the state reflects the political instability of the time which was due to the increasing number of dissidents against Chun's military regime in the 80s. The communist threat, a 'Northern Sword of Damocles'; was dangled by the state over the people's heads, in order to suppress any 'anti-state' dissidents. However, overriding people's rights with the excuse of a concern for national security contradicts the goals of a 'democratic' society, (84-ME-237). Throughout the period, the textbooks fail consider a harmonious reconciliation between the two Koreas but rather pursue reunification an the basis of militarization and economic superiority.

> We should lay the groundwork for the development and prosperity of our people through the peaceful reunification of our separated nations. In order to achieve this, we must fulfill the following points. First, there should be preparation for an all-out spirit of national security. Reflecting upon previous experiences, it is obvious that the North Korean Communists will attack us whenever we are off-guard and unprepared. Thus, armed with a mode of security, we must prevent their frenzied ambitions in advance. Secondly, we must build a democratic welfare state where everyone will live well. When this welfare state is achieved, the North Communist group cannot criticize us or seize an opportunity to advance. And thirdly, we must carry on our unification policy. As time passes, the economic power of North Korea will be backwards compared to ours. Therefore, there will be more possibilities that North Korea would accept our proposal. (84-SS1-166)

While this passage begins with a message of 'peaceful reunification' it quickly points to the need for a strong national defense mechanism to respond to North Korean encroachment. Like the 1965 and 1975 textbooks, which propose 'peaceful reunification' for other reasons, the above extract from the 1984 textbook adds more reasons for militarism, i.e., the need for achieving a democratic welfare state.

As one index of measuring just how much the government attempted to construct a welfare society, the 1988 data shows that the South Korean government spent 7 percent of total government expenditures on social protection, while it spent 25.5 percent on military protection. South Korea ($55 mil. in US$) imported 30 percent more arms than North Korea did ($42 mil. in US$), as of 1987 (Britannica, 1990: 878-9). South Korea's overspending on defense persisted throughout the period from 1980 to 1990 (Britannica, 1985-1993). According to this data, the issue of peaceful unification and welfare state building are merely propagandic devices against the North that legitimate the increased militarization of the country. It is very fortunate that we have become able to gear ourselves toward self-reliant defense, owing to the economic growth, such as the modernization of military equipment and upgrading of the defense industry. (84-ME-200-1) This and other excerpts (84-ME-165,201,209, SS1-162,SS3-207,209) are indicative of South Korea's drive to maintain the superior military power over the North based on a drive for economic development.

A series of data (Britannica, 1988-1993) show that the portion of military expenditure in South Korea increased during the last decade, partially owing to the country's economic growth. For instance, compared to a 4.5 billion ($US) military expenditure in 1984, the actual amount doubled to 9.1 billion ($US) in 1989. The increase in expenditure illustrates just how eager the nation was to militarize. Another factor that contributed to the modernization of the South Korean military industry was the US commitment to South Korea. According to Klare (1984:208), South Korea was the top recipient of American arms in the East Asian region, including modern American military technology, military modernization programs (McCormack and Gittings, 1977:124), and regular military exercises, all in the name of 'Team Spirit'. As a result, since 1985 (SIPRI, 1992:256), South Korea achieved a superior position over North Korea in its military spending. It is unfortunate that the subject of national security was totally transformed into a race for armaments with North Korea.

> < Major Activities>
> 1. Let us study as to why reunification is needed and based upon what certain principles.
> 2. Let us discuss the reasons behind North Korea's proposal of unrealistic plans in our attempt to achieve peaceful reunification. (84-SS1-167)

Although other references (84-SS1-162) argue that unification is necessary for political and economic reasons, the above content implies that roadblocks to reunification had been set up by North Korea. The slogan of 'peaceful reunification' symbolized a deliberate attempt by South Korea to convey a peacemaking posture while continuing to present North Korea as the intransigent enemy. Thus, the textbook failed to implant the seeds for reconciliation in the students.

The 1990's textbooks

As far as the issue of national security are concerned, the 1990's textbook continues to alert students to the tensions caused by the geopolitical location of South Korea.

> The Korean Peninsula, where our people have lived for 5,000 years and as a strategic geopolitical location, is a region vulnerable to the conflicting superpowers' interests. (90-ME-213-4)

In portraying South Korea as a nation located in an uncertain political zone, the textbook delivers the strong sense of Korea as a persevering nation that has weathered the storms of political tension. The sense of insecurity looming over South Korea, either imaginary or real, has been strongly and consistently mentioned over the past three decades.

The temporal effects regarding the issue of reunification are delineated below.

> Now we have to seek a way to live with North Korea, not as a competing rival, but as the same people with whom we should reconcile. (90-ME-241)

Because it departs from the ideological stance of portraying the North as an economic, political and military rival, this quotation exemplifies a dramatic change in portraying North Korea. The change can be partly attributed to a fundamental change in South Korean government policy in response to international events, i.e. the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the dissolution of the Soviet Union at the turn of this decade. Other excerpts (90-ME-259, 91-SS3-31) also reflect a change in the way the reunification issue is described, by proposing a more 'peaceful' way of opening up dialogue in order to dampen the tension that has built up over the past several decades.

Although the 1990 textbook dilutes the extreme tones previously used in depiction of North Korea, there is an implicit caution against any civil initiation for reunification.

> <The issue to think about>
> How does our government work towards peaceful reunification? (91-SS3-27)

Here it is clear that reunification is a government matter. In recent years this approach is evident in the repressive measures taken against any unofficial efforts to promote reunification. Although the textbook alters earlier postures towards the North, this does not necessarily mean that the nation has reduced its drive towards militarization.

> For a self-reliant defense structure, we must be equipped above all with military power, and enough economic strength to support the military power. Regardless of how mighty the armed forces you hold, if it is not bolstered by economic power, it cannot be regarded as self-reliant defense structure. (90-ME-224)

This textbook reflects the same orientation to militarization as earlier ones; it continues to advocate economic development for self-reliant military capabilities. Regarding peaceful reunification and militarization issues, the textbook presents two messages. On the one hand, the textbook stresses that reunification should be achieved in a peaceful manner through official channels. On the other hand, far from cutting back on militarization, South Korea needs to maintain its military strength for the purpose of deterrence. This tension is also reflected in the following quotation:

> What is the lesson that we can learn from the causes and process of division of our country? Firstly, in solving the internal problems of our people, it should be pointed out that any tendency to depend on foreign powers or to have them intervene in our problems is not encouraged in any case. (90-ME-222)

Here the message is that Korean people are solely responsible for solving their own problem of unification. However, upon reading the next excerpt, the contradiction in approaching reunification immediately arises.

> Unlike during the Cold War era, when we were dependent upon the allies' power such as the US, today's international situations demand that our problems should be resolved through our own efforts. Nevertheless, our efforts to cultivate the armed forces also strengthens our ties with the free world, particularly the US. (90-SS2-205)

In the above passage, a sense of uncertainty is communicated through mixed messages. The two messages reflect the nation's disorientation in the wake of its strong dependency on the US. However, the sudden collapse of communism in Soviet Union and the opening of China's market to the world capitalist economic system might decrease the American's strong commitment to security in this region, where the last country divided by ideology remains. In terms of this situation, the textbook content mirrors South Korea's confusion over the future task of building self-reliant defense capabilities, its current dependency on the US forces, and the reunification issue.

In summary, the background context of textbook content regarding national defense has been drawn from South Korea's unique situation in confronting the North Korean communist regime. However, content about national defense is articulated into different political messages such as the urgent need for nation building in the 1965's textbook, the need for economic development in the 1975 textbook, and the construction of a democratic welfare nation in the 1985 textbook. Above all, the stress on national defense is aimed to guard against the threat posed not only from the North, but also from internal dissidents. The message needed to be strong enough to suppress them for the sake of national security. One consistent theme in the content about national defense was competition with the North. Textbooks carry a political message seeking support for heavy militarization and continued US military presence in South Korea, throughout the period of the '60s to the '90s.

On the reunification issue, although textbooks as early as 1965 describe the issue, it is not seriously dealt with until the '90s. Up until 1990, the subject of reunification is bound to the socio-political context of South Korea rather than to North-South relations. Hence, the content makes a political claim for militarization, economic development and political solidarity as prerequisites to reunification, while blaming North Korea's unwillingness as the major obstacle to reunification. In this sense, the textbook's approach does not prepare the ground for constructive thinking about the reunification of Korea, and thereby reinforces the status quo. The textbook of 1990, however, significantly amends this view of the issue. The view of North Korea as a competing rival is modified to a view of North Korea as a people to embrace. Lastly, even though the textbook apparently changes its views on reunification, it still fails to present some practical measures to realistically achieve this task.

4. Images of North Korea

This section will comprehensively deal with the political/economic and socio-cultural systems of North Korea. It will comparatively evaluate textbook images drawn of South and North Korea, and specifically analyze value judgements on the image of North Korea. The political and economic systems of North Korea have already been substantially discussed in the Political System (P 1) and Economic System (E 1) categories. Consequently, the analysis of the two political systems will be shortened to the extent that it will discuss the most distinctive structures of North Korea.

To begin, there is very little information concerning North Korea, a country which remains isolated not only from its counterpart, South Korea, but also from the rest of the world. The image of North Korea as a 'closed society' can be partially attributed to the lack of information, and partly to the 'abundance' of biased information that can be found in the Western media of the Cold-War period. In order to avoid presenting a one-sided view of two Koreas, I will attempt to bring an equally 'critical' perspective to bare on them. I will attempt to clarify how certain facts were suppressed or downplayed in the documents and the textbooks, while highlighting the ideological underpinnings of those curriculum materials. The discussion, then, will begin with an analysis of the political sphere, followed by economic and social-cultural aspects.

The official name of North Korea is the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and it will be referred to as DPRK hereafter. The DPRK is based on the Marxist-Leninist communist model, modified according to the concept of 'Juche', variously translated as 'self-reliance', 'self-image' and 'self-independence' (Lewis, 1988). Juche is not only a political ideology that was promulgated to purge various factions after the Korean War (An, 1983, Lewis, 1988); it is also a modernizing ideology designed to achieve a self-reliant, socialist economy.

Regarding the structure of political power, various sources (Britannica World Data 1988; Europa World Yearbook 1992; Koh, 1984; Shon, 1982) portray a different side to DPRK's political system. It has been suggested that the highest organ of state power is held by the Supreme People's Assembly (SPA), which commands the legislative function and elects the president of the Republic (Europa World Yearbook, 1992:1628). Political power is also held by the communist Korean Workers' Party (KWP). According to Koh (1984), although a considerable overlap of personnel in the top echelons of party and government blurs their distinction somewhat, it is clear that in terms of both formal and actual power the government is subordinated to the rule of the party. Since 1958, the political leadership of Kim, Il-sung has gone unchallenged. (Lewis, 1988)

As for the political relationship of DPRK with other communist allies, it was heavily dependent upon both Soviet and Chinese economic aid after the war, and continued its strong relationship with the USSR until after the dissolution of the USSR in late 1991. Its relationship with its other partner, China, is also getting weaker due to China's increasing focus on the West since the 1980's (Lee, C. M. 1989; Scalapino and Kim, 1983).

Economically, the DPRK has utilized the Juche ideology in order to mobilize the scarce[23] labor force and establish a self-reliant economy, which is often considered to be a closed economic system. In order to lay the foundation for an independent national economy, heavy industry was given a clear priority (Lewis, 1988:18) so that it could supply the farming machines required to increase agricultural productivity. The nation's drive for building a socialist economic system was articulated into mottos such as the 'Chollima[24] movement' and the 'Chongsan-ni[25] method' which emphasized mutual cooperation and work ethic both in the agricultural and industrial sectors. Due to its orientation towards a self-reliant socialist economic system, the DPRK kept strong economic ties with the USSR and China as their major trading partners, from the Korean War to 1993 (Britannica, 1967-1993).

In terms of economic growth, a sharp contrast is evident between the two Koreas, with South Korea being incomparably further ahead in growth rates.

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[23] Population size in DPRK was estimated to be around 16 million in 1974 and around 22 million in 1992, where land is slightly (23,500 sq km) bigger than South Korea of which population in 1974 was more than 33 million and 43 million in 1993. It is easy to approximate that the population of DPRK is half that of South Korea, since the Korean war.

[24] This translated as a mythological winged horse, symbolizing very rapid growth.

[25] The name of the village where Kim, Il-sung visited to teach the benefits of increased communication between the leader and peasants. It stresses participation in the cooperative farm and profit-sharing at the work-team level (Lewis, Ibid.).

Table VI-1. Total and Per Capita GNP of North and South Korea (in current prices)

	GNP (billion US$)			Per Capita GNP (US$)		
	South Korea (A)	North Korea (B)	Ratio A/B	South Korea (A)	North Korea (B)	Ratio A/B
1965	3.0	1.3	2.3	105	108	0.97
1970	7.8	2.8	2.8	243	198	1.23
1975	20.2	7.4	2.7	573	464	1.24
1980	61.2	14.7	4.2	1,605	822	1.95
1985	83.7	15.4	5.4	2,150	755	2.85
1987	118.6	19.4	6.1	3,098	936	3.31

Source: Song (1990:207).

As the above data shows, North Korea lags far behind in economic growth. As of 1987 the GNP growth rate in the DPRK was one-sixth that of South Korea. The DPRK's per capita GNP is one third of the South. Although South Korea surpasses the DPRK in economic growth, McCormack and Gittings (1977) argue a different perspective.

> Meaningful comparisons, as we have stressed, must go beyond abstract statistics to look at structural and qualitative considerations. (. . .) What is certain is that improvements in living standard will only come about in a gradual and egalitarian manner, unlike in South Korea where extremes of wealth and poverty coexist.

Therefore, it is necessary to understand the social dimensions of growth in the DPRK.

Above all, health and educational services are remarkable. For instance, physicians in the DPRK numbered one per 417 persons (1982), whereas the ratio in the South was one physician per 1,509 persons (1983). In 1989, the ratio was 1 per 370 in the DPRK and 1 per 1,007 in South Korea (Britannica, 1986, 1993). Access to safe water in the DPRK is 100 percent whereas it is 78 percent in South Korea (Britannica, 1993). The daily per capita calorie intake in DPRK is 3,065 and 2,938 in South Korea ('80-'82). The DPRK spends 18.8% of total government expenditures on social welfare whereas South Korea spends 9.7% for social security and welfare (Europa World Yearbook, 1992:1628, 1642). While the DPRK provides free medical service, South Korea does not.

Due to the lack of data on the DPRK, it is impossible to make a direct comparison with regards to educational spending. However, various documents depict the DPRK's education system as having the most comprehensive nursery facilities in the world

(McCormack and Gittings, Ibid.). The DPRK has provided free universal primary education since 1958 and secondary education (to the 11th year) since 1975 (Europa World Yearbook, Ibid.) whereas South Korea only began providing free compulsory primary education in 1978 (Gannon, 1985:13) and has yet to provide free secondary education.

In order to aid our analysis of textbook content, it is necessary to provide some political, economic and social understandings of the DPRK as shown in the textbooks, along with a comparison to the South Korean situation.

The Political System

As seen in the following excerpts from 1965 and 1984 textbooks, North Korean communism is consistently identified as oppressive and dictatorial, and represented as a disguised "democratic system" .

> As one knows, the communist calls the North Korea the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. (. . .) The North Korean puppet government disguise not only their party's title in a democratic one, but also all other structures of government. (65-ME-102)

> Although North Korea appears to have the tripartite system due to their institutional arrangements such as the legislature, administration and judiciary, all the power, in fact, is centralized in the communist party. (84-ME-239)

It should be noted in relation to the reference to North Korea's tripartite system, this does not really differ from that of South Korea, especially when we consider the dominant role of the executive branch of government relative to the legislative and the judicial in both regimes (Shaw, 1991:279; Lewis, 1988). Noting that both Koreas are similar in their heavy concentration of power, the second quotation implies that South Korea has achieved a balanced tripartite system, while North Korea's centralization of power is a tyrannical one.

Identifying the DPRK's political system as a pseudo-democracy, the textbooks from 1965 to 1990 consistently identify the northern communist system as a dictatorship.

> Voting is meaningless in North Korea since there is only one political party. The election process is only meaningful when there are several parties. Voting in North Korea is nothing but the means to legitimate a one-man dictatorship. (90-ME-232)

Although one major party, the communist Korean Workers' Party (KWP) has ruled since its formation, there are actually two often minor parties (Europa World Yearbook, 1992:1628). To justify the image of dictatorial rule in the North, the 1965 to 1984 textbooks stress Kim, Il-sung's idolization.

> The image of Kim, Il-sung is god-like in the North, and he controls everything in politics, the economy and culture. The idolization of Kim, il-sung by the North Korean communists continues. By propagandizing their idolization worldwide overseas, they have now become the mockery of the whole world. (84-ME-245)

The denigration of the North Korean system in the South Korean textbook is clearly evident in phrases such as "the heliocentric idolization of Kim, Il-sung" (84-ME-59-60) and the "unprecedented regime in human history" (84-ME-249-251), referring to Kim's family. It aims to warn students that any proponent of the system would be regarded as ridiculous and irrational enough to merit worldwide mockery.

In contrast to the political leader and institutions, the people of North Korea are portrayed as opponents to communist rule.

> Since Independence (from Japan) on August 15, demonstration against communism has never stopped in North Korea. We have to pay attention to the fact that the anti-Kim, Il-sung movement is constantly stirring even after the consolidation of the present one- man dictatorship. (84-ME-256)

The depiction of people in the North as a dissatisfied group not only implies the weakness of communism, but also that its demise will be by the hands of its own constituents. Consequently, the presentation of conflict in the textbooks (65-ME-161, 84-ME-250, 259) has only one agenda and that is to recognize the superiority of the South Korean political system.

The content represented below follows the previous excerpt in the textbook:

> Our Daehanminkuk (*Republic of Korea)* has a true democratic political system that allows us to select a remarkable leader by exercising the right to vote. Being aware of the superiority of our democratic system, we must further endeavor to develop this system and steadily attempt to transmit our democratic system to North Korea. (84-ME-259)

This self-serving message presents value judgements on the two systems; one is basically good and the other bad, therefore justifying the democratic agenda. This tone of superiority runs through all the comparisons with the North, with the Northern government depicted as deceptive, dictatorial, ridiculous and estranged from the people.

In addition to the negative portrayal of the internal aspects of the system, the 1965 content concerning the external relations of North Korea is also negative.

> Our people, (. . .) parted into two lines. One is the democratic, nationalistic camp that is respectful of the sovereign right of people and the other is the communist, treasonous camp that is blindly obeying their master, the Soviet Union. (65-ME-19)

The negative image of North Korea is reinforced by its presentation as a puppet government subordinated to the Soviet Union, treasonously selling out the nation (65-ME-

13, 84-ME-214, 216). By representing South Korea's alliance with the US as protectionist and the North's alliance with the Soviet Union as treasonous, the textbooks cannot avoid indoctrination. The 1965 textbook also depicts the North as the invader in the Korean War (65-ME-6). This tone is repeated in the 1984 textbook (ME-238), as below.

> Study Points
> 1. Let's see what evidence we can find about the North Korean communist group's invasion of the South. (. . .)
> 3. Let's discuss how the North Korean communist group resorts to tricks in order to communize us since the June 25 invasion (the Korean War). (84-ME-238)

The image of North Korea is constructed to meet the political needs of South Korea. The North is negatively portrayed and contrasted with the peace-loving South Koreans. The third point presented above attempts to deter any subversive inclinations in the South by labelling them as pro-communist. In contrast to these two opposing images between the two Koreas, Palais argues,

> Since the Korean war, the United States and South Korea have kept unremitting pressure on North Korea through subversion, espionage, propaganda, and military attacks. These adventures have been kept secret for the most part and are little known in America. North Korea has used the same tactics against the South but these have been reported in the Western press as provocations, proof of "aggressive intentions," and submitted to the U.N. as "evidence" of North Korea's "belligerency". (Palais, 1973:33)

The similarity between the two Koreas in terms of espionage and subversion missions is also found in the United Nation's documents (UN, 1973).

The Economic System

As delineated in the type of economy category (E2), the socialist economy of North Korea is defined as a system that does not allow for any ownership of private property.

> Since all economic activity in North Korea is planned and controlled by the state, it is different from our free economic system which values autonomy of economic activities. For example, a farmer in our country is trying to increase productivity through whatever means and efforts because the reward for his labor can be owned by him. However, a farmer in North Korea is hardly motivated to increase his productivity, because he cannot receive his reward based on his amount of labor, but only a designated portion of rationing regardless of the amount of work he did. (90-ME-235-6)

The textbooks during the past three decades have constantly presented an image of the socialist system in the North as a rigidly controlled economy that is unfair, unmotivating, and unproductive.

> Above all, all the property is not owned by anyone, people do not save and care for it. When producing similar products, people tend to spend more and thereby waste resources. (84-ME-270)

The textbooks deliberately convey the message that the free market economic system is good because everybody saves their resources and money and even cares for their own private property; whereas the North Korean socialist economic system is wasteful and irresponsible because it is a public ownership system.

Lacking a proper elucidation of the socialist economic system, only the negative image of North Korea's inevitable demise as desired by the South Korean government, persists in the 1984 textbooks. In addition, the image of a closed and rigid economic system is explained as an inherent characteristic of socialism.

> As the North Korean group is keeping their closed society system, it will be hard to introduce the capital and technology of the advanced countries, and their economy will be stagnated. (. . .) The so-called planned economy of the communist party cannot efficiently handle the complex economic problems of today, and the economy cannot avoid an economic depression. (84-ME-263)

This quote emphasizes that the South Korean economy will grow because of its openness to attract foreign capital and technology from advanced countries, in contrast to the North Korean closed economy. More importantly, the image of the North Korean economy is portrayed as a sinking vessel in the global economy, characterized by stagnation and depression. Also, the communist system is portrayed as an incompatible and anachronistic system that is simplistic, lacking the capabilities to deal with the more complex capitalist system.

Along with the image of a static system, the North Korean economy is characterized as one oriented towards the war industry.

> Among the economic contradictions, the North Korean communists prioritize heavy industry for the preparation of war. (. . .) The group spends more than 20% of the GNP on military expenditures. This is a wartime economy. (84-ME-271)

The textbook exclusively highlights North Korea's spending on the military industry. The percentage of military expenditure by North Korea differs according to source (16.7 % in 1984, 22.6% in 1986 (Britannica, 1986, 1988), but in fact,the total amount of military spending in South Korea has surpassed North Korea since 1982 (SIPRI, 1992:261; UNDP, 1991:150). According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute data, military expenditure in South Korea in 1985 (6,135 million in US$) was more than three times that of North Korea (1,783 million in US$).

The Social-Cultural System

As a consequence of the so-called 'frenzied' war economy preparation, North Korea is depicted as having a lower standard of living in the 1965 (ME-141), 1975 (SS1-69) and 1984 (ME-50) textbooks.

> The food supply of North Korea is in a very poor condition. (. ..)When they are visiting their relatives, they must carry the ration ticket so that they can be fed. (84-ME-129-130)

The above 1984 textbook content can be validated with the following table drawn from the Britannica World Data reports.

Table VI-2. Daily per capita caloric intake of North and South Korea

Year	'80-'82	'81-'83	'84-'86	'87-'89	'90
North K.	3,065	3,116	3,199	2,797	2,843
South K.	2,938	2,804	2,876	2,853	2,823
differences	-127	-312	-323	+56	-20

Sources. Britannica World Data (1986,1988, 1990, 1993) for the years from 1980- 1989.
UNDP (1993) for the year 1990.

As seen in the above table, the South Korean people have consumed less calories than North Koreans since 1980 except during the years 1987-89. Based on the above facts, it is safe to say that the North Korean people are not in a severe state of malnutrition.

As one of the important aspects of the socio-cultural system, textbooks include references to education in North Korea. The following two excerpts illustrate the temporal change in description about the same subject.

The following are examples of 1965, 1975 and 1990 textbook content.

> The schools in North Korea are a human training camp for communism, the youth workplace, the military training camp, (. .) The students in the North spend their valuable young days in distress and bitterness. (65-ME-145)

> Our own education promotes the growth of personality and a carefree school life in a liberal atmosphere, unlike the student life in North Korea where freedom is constrained under North Communist rule. (75-ME-172)

> For example, we continue to teach the youth the ideals of liberal democracy and to have them maintain the norms and attitudes based on the ideas through education.

> North Korea attempts to raise the human model based on the ideals of communism in various ways. (90-ME-253-4)

The textbooks reveal an emotional tone with strong value judgements in the subject of education, although the factual content changes. The 1984 textbook content, (ME-278) not shown here, sits somewhere between the 1975 and 1990 textbooks in terms of the way in which the topic of education is described. Although there is a gradual change in description from 1965 to 1990, the characteristics of bipolarism remain and can be observed in all other descriptions concerning communist North Korean society.

As an example of the inclusive picture presented of North Korean society, the following 1975 textbook excerpt has been selected. The content tells the story of a family who lives in the North and who decide to cross the border due to the brutality of the North Korean communists, especially to those belonging to the capitalist class or the former land-owning class.

> It has been two years since these people (landlords) were uprooted and removed to this far, remote valley. My old mother did not survive due to the cold and hunger in the winter when we moved here. We narrowly escaped starvation, by working in the field until our hands became bloodstained through our toil and hardworking. (. . . . after he crossed the DMZ) When he awoke (after being shot), he realized that he was lying on a bed in the field hospital. He realized that the South Korean army had saved and tended to him when he was wounded in the leg in front of the sentry line. He was moved to tears. (75-ME-168,170)

As can be seen, the North Korean communist is portrayed as cruel, merciless and inhumane, especially to the bourgeois class. Most of all, the textbook teaches South Korean students that South Korean society appears as a dream-like land to the North Korean people; in the last sentence, South Korean soldiers who save the man as depicted as caring and humanitarian.

The following excerpt shows how the textbooks deliberately draw a contrasting picture of the two societies.

> In South Korea, when the democratic government took over, we lived freely, transmitting and developing our cultural heritage. But in North Korea, where communism rules, people are oppressed and our once proud culture destroyed. Therefore, during the past 40 years since Korea divided, our people came to have two distinct and incompatible cultures. (86-SS3-336)

The North Korean culture is depicted as destructive and even alien to the South Korean culture. In contrast, South Korean society is represented as one that is truly devoted to cultural development. By highlighting the gap between the two cultures, the textbook conveys the message that communism distorts Korean culture, hence the need to remove communism to restore a once homogeneous culture.

In contrast to the tone of 1985, drastic changes in the treatment of North Korean culture can be observed.

> We once lived as one people, and shared many things together. The unique ethos and customs and way of thinking that has been steadily handed down to the people are enough to have us feel that we share a common heritage if we meet each other for the first time. Therefore, the separation by the heterogenized phenomenon will be naturally overcome when we empathize and remember the lives we shared when Korea was one. (90-ME-258)

Compared to the earlier, 1984, textbook, which highlights differences, the above textbook suddenly promotes a message of reconciliation of the two societies. While still carrying the image of disparity of the two cultures, the above textbook indicates a naive assumption about the two different Korean cultures. In this case, the role of the textbook could be to question the differences between the two cultures and then have the students reflect upon overcoming these differences, so that they are prepared for the possible process of reunification.

In summary, South Korean textbooks have made a clear distinction between the North and South Korean systems, and created a negative image of North Korea in the areas of politics, economy, society and culture. Firstly, North Korea's political system is depicted as dictatorial, undemocratic, ridiculous, unstable, and treasonous, and one which attempts to subvert South Korean "democracy". Secondly, the economic system of North Korea is represented as unfair, unmotivated, inefficient, and stagnant. Thirdly, North Korean society is portrayed as rigid and inhumane, and in short supply of goods. Fourthly, the educational system is given the treatment of a prison camp-like image. Lastly, North Korean culture is portrayed as absolutely alien and irreconcilable with South Korea.

The 1990 textbook suddenly provides an overly optimistic view of North Korean culture. However, this change of tone merely reflects a simplistic approach and denies any prospect of tension which may arise from the process of reunification.

From the above presentation of North Korea in South Korean textbooks, it is easy to grasp the fact that the image of the North is captured in one rigid negative frame. On this image Sarup (1989) argued that binary oppositions represent " a way of seeing, that is typical of ideologies". Quoted from Hoy (1985), Derrida has expressed the nature of this binary opposition.

> Although these distinctions are supposed to be obvious and value-neutral, their use in both the tradition and the more recent sciences suggests that in practice, one pole in these oppositions is privileged over the other.

The South Korean textbook's depiction of the two Koreas, where one is bad and the other is good, is aimed at dividing the country. This promotes an egocentric and salvationist agenda which concludes that the North would benefit from the "absorption' by the South.

5. Human Rights

This category is concerned with basic human rights, such as the freedom of opinion and expression, of peaceful assembly and association, and of movement and residence, etc. It will also deal with views concerning the radical movements of workers, students and other dissenters.

As the South Korea's political history since General Park's seizure of power in May 16, 1961, until 1993 indicates, the Korean government has ignored the issue of human rights.

> In the absence of a pattern over time of peaceful, predictable, rule-based transition from one national leader to the next, the human rights element in South Korea's constitutional order has tended to become lost in recurrent military politics of force and illegal maneuvers to secure the national leadership (as in 1961 and 1980), followed by aggressive manifestations of defensive anxiety about gaining full legitimacy and/or retaining presidential power, with the guidance of technocratic and military supporters. (Beer, 1991:280)

Successive military governments over the past three decades were founded upon the denial of people's political rights to choose their country's political leaders.

In this political context, it is relevant to analyze the textbooks from 1965 to 1991 in terms of human rights issues. This analysis of human rights will focus primarily, but not exclusively upon textbook content about the constitution, because the constitution is the focal point of perception and implementation of human rights in South Korea. In fact, whatever human rights is covered in the textbooks, it is followed by a discussion on the constitution.

Human Rights Issues

Not surprisingly, the 1965 textbook does not discuss the matter of human rights directly. However, there are some places which hints at the subject. For example, the constitutions is included as an appendix to the 1965 social studies textbook. Although this appendix was utilized as a reference for testing, the human rights issue was not given attention wether the text itself. The constitution was as an object of information detached from daily life, with no meaningful relationship to students. The constitution has since been appended to all texts.

On the status of the constitution in the classroom and in Korean society, Palais (1973:334) writes,

> Respect for the constitution and law was certainly not enhanced by amendments imposed by fiat in contravention of the legal processes for amendments as provided by the constitution, no matter how well-intentioned the purpose. The amendments of 1962 were the fifth major revision of the constitution in a decade (1952,'54, '58, '60, and '62)[26], and they contributed to the declining prestige of the constitution and its utility as a source of legitimacy."

The frequent amendments to the constitution, initiated by the regime's change and not by the people's consensus, were neither meaningful nor necessary for the people and had nothing to do with improvement of citizens' political and social rights.

In dealing with Korea's international relations, the 1965 textbook (p.287) reveals that South Korea had not been a member country of the International Labor Organization, unlike other United Nations members. The textbook provides no proper explanation of Korea's reluctance to join the ILO. In talking about North Korea, however, the text makes the following observations:

> When the rights and interests of workers of free countries are infringed upon or when rewards are not commensurate with labour, they have the means to advance their dissatisfaction through labor unions. (. . .) It is possible because free countries guarantee the strikes of workers by law. However, in North Korea, there is nothing in the constitution which guarantees such workers' freedoms and, in fact, any strikes are seen as rebellion (65-ME-126).

Although the content does not mention South Korea, it gives the impression that South Korea, as a free country, ensures the rights of workers. Considering the facts that South Korea is not a member of the ILO, that political parties and trade unions were suppressed, and that demonstrations and strikes were outlawed (Lewis, 1988: 51-2), students were mislead by this comparison with North Korea. On the nature of political rights, the 1965 textbook treats voting as political obligation rather than a right (p.95). No mention is made later that if the political rights were exercised, the government response was exile or house arrest, as was true in the case of Daejung Kim (Shim, 1985a).

In the 1975 textbook, citizen's rights are classified into three categories; the right to freedom, the right to benefits, and political rights.

Citizen's Rights and Duties

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[26] Successive amendments of the constitution were made in 1972, 1980 and 1987 (Shaw (ed.):1991).

> **Right to Freedom**[27]: (. . .) Although any right concerning freedom cannot be trivialized, the most important rights with regard to democracy is freedom of the individual, of speech, of press, of assembly, and of association.
> **Right to Benefits:** (. . .)
> **Political Rights**: The people in a democratic country are the masters of the nation. It is the political right of the people as sovereign participants in the management of the state through the right to vote, the right to take public office and the right to a referendum. (75-SS3-49-50)

According to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (UN, 1988:37), the right to freedom of speech, press, assembly and association in the first category, the right to a vote and to a referendum in the third category can be merged into the single category of political rights. The second category, the right to benefits, is equivalent to economic, social and cultural rights in the UN Covenant. More important than these differences in categorization is the fact that in Korea these are defined as citizen's rights not human rights and are followed in the text by a discussion of citizen's duties. This juxtaposition of rights and duties gives the impression that people's rights are important for the political process, but not necessarily for the well-being of the person. Further, contrast to the UN Declaration of Human Rights as universal and fundamental[28] to all people, the implication in the text is that rights are bestowed on people because of their loyalty to the state. While the constitution guaranteed more rights to the President, the 1975 textbook also warned people against abusing their rights and freedom.

> Lesson from democracy :
> (Firstly), The misinterpretation of freedom. Since democracy respects freedom, people mistakenly think that it can be secured without their own efforts and costs. By criticizing others for irresponsibility or opportunism, there are many people who regard freedom as irresponsibility, and indulgence, or disorder (75-SS3-41).

Without providing a proper introduction to the concept of human rights, the textbook content merely warns against unrestrained freedom. Under an authoritarian regime, it is not unusual that the duties of the people are emphasized over their rights, and hence civil liberties are completely curbed. Every relation between the state and the people is contained within the notion of the citizen's duty to the nation, rather than their individual rights.

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[27] Right to freedom, rights for benefits and political rights can be related to civil, social, and political rights respectively, as defined by the UN Human Rights Commissions. (UN, 1988)

[28] The idea of fundamental rights is expressed in the text of the Universal Human Rights Declaration in 1948 by the UN General Assembly (UN, 1988). However, the presumption of universality in the Declaration is criticized as a peculiar form of ethnocentrism insofar as Western ideas are presumed to be ubiquitous (Renteln, 1990:12). Although it is not the place to discuss the ideology of human rights in this section, I will not reject any criticism stemming from interpretation of this subject based on a value-laden presumption in the definition of the human rights.

As Palais has argued the reality of Korean society is rather different than textbooks indicated:

> The abandonment of the Third Republic ('63-'73) and the creation of the "Restoration (Yushin, or October) Constitution" in 1972, however, were carried out in a completely illegal manner. Park simply declared martial law and suspended the constitution, political activity, political parties, free speech, and the legislature. Then a new constitution was approved without debate by a national referendum (Palais, 1973:346).

In the 1970's, political rights, such as the right to freedom of speech and press were merely symbolic. According to the 1981 Amnesty International Report (1981,30), all news reports at this time had to be submitted to military censors. The concept of human rights projected in the constitution was an abstract symbol useless to the people, but a useful tool of the military dictators to justify their regime (75-SS3-57).

Although the 1972 and 1980 Constitutions actually guaranteed the people's basic rights, the constitutions[29] also enabled the President to curtail any 'basic' rights of the people such as the freedom of speech, press and association during periods of national emergency, as defined by the National Security Law in 1960, the Anti-Communist Law in 1961 and the Martial Law in 1979 (Amnesty International, 1981). The 1972 Constitution bestowed Park with all-encompassing rights to issue any actions and appointments to the KCIA (Korean Central Intelligence Agency). One of the cases that the agency accomplished was the 1973 kidnapping of Park's political opponent, Daejung Kim (Lewis, 1988:57). On the US attitude towards the notorious practice of human rights in Korea, Shim (1985a) argues that "President Reagan was firmly set to back Chun and goad him towards an evolutionary political development rather than harshly criticizing his human rights and other restrictions". According to the 1985 textbook,

> All human beings are born with fundamental rights which are indispensable for life. That is, human rights or basic rights that people are entitled to are found within the state (86-SS3-235).

Although some definition of human rights is finally attempted here, it is important to note that it is made synonymous with the basic rights of the people. Only the term 'basic rights' is consistently used in all textbooks. Basic rights may refer to the right to food, clothing and shelter and not necessarily individual's political rights. What is meant by basic rights is never made clear. What is clear is that the state is the source of rights.

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[29] The Article 51 of the 1980 Constitution prescribes that in case of emergency, the President, when he deems it necessary, may temporarily suspend the freedoms and rights of people prescribed in the Constitution, and may take special measures with respect to the powers of the Executive and the Judiciary. (Korean Overseas Information Service, 1980)

As in the 1975 textbook, the standpoint of the 1985 textbook concerning human rights is that the state has the fundamental power to authorize rights. Beer explains the dominance of the executive branch over the legislature and judicial branches in the following quotation:

> In Korea, the problem since liberation is that a way has not yet been found in Korean law and politics to divide and restrain governmental power sufficiently to guarantee individual rights. Law itself may not yet have the autonomy necessary for legal protection of rights. Perhaps the judiciary and the National Assembly are not yet institutionalized in relation to the presidency, and administrators and police are not yet democratically professionalized in such a way as to control under law violation of human rights (Beer, 1991:278).

This recontextualization of human rights in terms of the dominance of the state over the individual continues throughout the textbooks from 1975 to 1991, as evidenced from the following 1985 content excerpt.

> According to the principle of constitutionalism, the basic rights of the people are ensured in our constitution. In Article 9, the constitution prescribes that " every people is endowed with dignity and worth, and is entitled to the pursuit of happiness. The state is charged with the responsibility to protect and guarantee the inviolable universal human rights. Furthermore, the constitution ensures the right to equality and freedom, social rights, claim rights[30] and political rights (86-SS3-236).

The meaning of human rights is recontextualized according to the unequal relationship between the state and the people. In contrast to the content of the above textbook, which presents South Korea as a nation that ensures every possible right, the following table provides information on the status of human rights observance in both South and North Korea.

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[30] The term, 'claim right' consists of the right to petition, to sue and to claim damages.(85-SS3-237). The background of using the word, 'claim' presupposes a relationship between citizens and the state in order to claim those rights against the state.

Table V1-3. Human Rights Observances in South and North Korea, 1982-1989

Conventions	Accession (*)		
	(South)		(North)
	in 1982	in 1989	in 1989
1. International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights			*
2. International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights			*
3. Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights			
4. International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	*	*	
5. International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid			
6. International Convention against Apartheid in Sports			
7. Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women		*	
8. Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide	*	*	*
9. Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes against Humanity			*
10. Slavery Convention of 1926			
11.1953 Protocol Amending the 1926 Convention			
12. Slavery Convention of 1926 as amended			
13. Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery			
14. Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and of the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others	*	*	
15. Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment			
16. Convention on the Nationality of Married Women			
17. Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness			
18. Convention relating to the Status of Stateless Persons	*	*	
19. Convention relating to the Status of Refugees			
20. Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees			
21. Convention on the Political Rights of Women	*	*	
22. Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages.			

Source: UN (1982.1989)

As this table shows, South Korea's human rights observance is quite opposite to its depiction in the textbooks. First of all, the people's basic rights, which can be equated to political, economic, social and cultural rights, are not observed as seen in the first two items. It is now obvious why the definition of human rights is proceeded by the two terms, human and people's basic rights. By using the two terms interchangeably, the content points a picture of a nation attempting to promote and observe the ideals of human rights.

The validity of the above interpretation is supported by Barone's (1983) arguments that "the casting of South Korea with a human face is difficult because of the ruthless repression by the Korean government, one of the most flagrant violators of human rights in the world." The most exemplary case is the Kwangju Uprising that resulted in 191 official fatalities (Cohen and Baker, 1991;193) and the death of many radical students by police torture (Lewis, 1988). On the political influence on the Kwangju Uprising, Cohen and Baker (1991;193) found that "the US did not respond to appeals for US intervention in the incidents". The Korean state, backed by US support and in charge of the recognition and guarantee of human rights, is also the greatest violator of its own declarations. In the 1986 textbook, however, attempt to provide justification for state interventions.

> The liberty and rights of people should be respected and guaranteed to the maximum. But, it does not necessarily mean that the exercise of rights or freedoms is respected even when it violates other's rights or freedoms, and harms the overall society. Therefore, in certain extreme cases of violation, there is a need for restriction (86-SS3-239).

Although 1990 textbook soften the message, the state remains key in the determination of those rights.

> The various rights of humans are ultimately aimed to enhance the dignity and worth of humans. Also, these rights that humans should secure by him/herself can be ensured by the existence of the state. However, what is most important is our will to preserve and promote this right (90-ME-171).

In dealing with the subject, the importance of the state is continuously emphasized to the student, which sounds as if the importance of the state precedes human rights.

Views on Social Dissenters

An essential elements in protecting human rights is tolerance of dissent. The following excerpt reflects this view.

> By means of the newspaper and television, we know almost everyday that people take different positions and argue from their own perspectives. There are the calls for the improvement of working conditions, the demonstrations that express discontent about political and social issues, and the protests against foreign trade pressure and the consumer organization's movements.
> People have the means to solve a certain matter according to their own viewpoints, and various groups, the press, parties, and the government are divided in opinion and constrain debate on the issues. It is regarded as desirable in a democratic society that these differences can be resolved by forming public opinion through

> people's participation. The task of solving the issue begins from the recognition and approach that people can hold different perspectives on a certain issue. (91-SS3-23)

This is a belated reference concerning social conflict and contrasts with other earlier textbooks that deliberately omit any references to disharmony and discord. However, the text confuses the two separate issues of promoting a tolerant attitude toward social dissidents and ensuring their right to freedom of expression, or peaceful assembly or association. As revealed in Table 8, South Korea still does not observe the political and civil rights of the people.

In summary, this analysis of human rights found a mere rhetorical message running from the 1965 through the 1990 textbooks. The subject of human rights is not seriously dealt with in the 1965 textbook. The term 'people's basic rights' rather than 'human rights' is utilized from the 1975 textbook onward. The term 'people's rights' is used not to teach about human rights but to emphasize the appreciation of being a citizen, who is awarded rights within the political ideology of democracy. Without a proper explanation of human rights, the 1975 textbook merely warns against the danger of unstrained freedom, a matter of great concern during military regimes. It was not until the 1986 textbook that the term of 'human rights' is adopted even if in a 'soft' form. The 1986 and 1990 textbooks do not differ in the fact that they emphasize the importance of being a citizen in a state where individuals are be ensured of human rights. Textbooks claim that the constitution of South Korea protects and guarantees the full realization of human rights, in direct contradiction to the UN report on the Korea's status of human rights observance. Messages about human rights in the South Korean textbooks are merely a political tool to make people believe what the regimes wished them to believe.

Content about radical movements are finally presented in 1990. Hence, until 1990, the radical views of dissidents and the notorious student demonstrators are deliberately omitted and repressed. Although a tolerant view on the radical movements is presented in the 1990 textbooks, it does not necessarily mean that such tolerance is permitted in society, as evidenced by the UN documents.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

This study was undertaken to critically examine the nature of school knowledge transmitted through the agency of school textbooks in South Korea. As the field of sociology of knowledge in general as well as more special analysis of school knowledge have shown, textbooks constitute an important source of school knowledge formation. across economic, political and social-cultural dimensions. While useful insights have been articulated in various analysis of school textbooks in many countries or regions, one limitation has been the emphasis on one particular sphere of society and/or one specific time period. In addition to extending the field of sociology of school knowledge to the South Korean context, this study also attempts to improve on previous research by examining all three spheres of social knowledge and by comparing textbook content from the 1960s to the early 1990s.

In order to evaluate the nature and degree of linkage between school knowledge and the wider context of societal development in Korea, a sketch of the realities of Korean development was necessary. Two development paradigms, the modernization and the dependency paradigm, were discussed to enable a critical understanding of Korean development. Modifying the critical paradigm according to the case of Korean development, a comprehensive analysis of the three aspects -- economic, political and social-cultural -- of development was undertaken.

This study has attempted to critically examine the nature of school knowledge through the agency of school textbooks in Korea, from the 1960's to 1990's, taking into consideration Korea's development throughout this period. This study examined two subjects in school textbooks, social studies and moral education. In total, thirteen textbooks were examined, drawn from the 7th to 10th grade, from 1965 to 1991 textbooks. The research data was collected utilizing content analysis methods, encompassing 18 thematic categories. Finally, this qualitative analysis of data was accompanied by the use of secondary documents to validate interpretations.

Major Findings

In order to examine the nature of school knowledge within textbooks, the study was guided by six research questions. They are listed below, followed by an individual summary of the findings pertaining to each one.

1. What assumptions, value-orientations, conceptual and empirical knowledge, and strategies for societal, personal and inter-personal practice are promoted by the textbooks in terms of paradigms of national development?

The value orientation in the textbooks is positively biased towards the modernization paradigm. Starting with the presupposition that Korea is a poor nation, textbooks emphasize the value of a strong work ethic, austerity, and frugality that are accompanied by exhortations for individual's to husband time, money and material resources. Not surprisingly, this assumption is seen as crucial for a nation which has a large population and insufficient natural resources, and which is moving towards modernization. However, this functional orientation does not encourage critical thinking on alternative development strategies which can harness a nation's human and natural resources for equitable and sustainable development.

With regards to appropriate strategies for building a capitalist economic system, representative ideals are sought on the individual, social and the national level. On the individual level, the need for achievement and the merits of a liberal-meritocratic society are stressed. On the social level, the virtue of profit-seeking, especially by the capitalist class, are conveyed as ideal for enhancing the development and entrepreneurship. In contrast, the value of labor is depreciated as merely an input, subject to the law of supply and demand in the marketplace.

On the national level, a highly favorable image of advanced capitalist countries is presented and contrasted with an unfavorable view of socialist countries. In order to enhance capitalism's progressive and efficient image, textbooks strongly emphasize that socialism is an inherently contradictory system, not worthy of academic consideration. The most ideological representation of the two economic systems is found in the textbooks' legitimation of government intervention in capitalism in contrast to a negative portrayal of government intervention in socialist economies.

In discussing development, textbooks promote national plans for industrialization and the significant role of government in this process. In order to pull the nation out of an agrarian society and to gain people's commitment to development, textbooks construe national development plans as common goals and largely ignore development in the rural sector. The extolled 'Saemaul Movement' of the 1970's is the exception to this neglect of rural development. Here, the role of the state deserves special attention. Except in rural development, initially, a leading role for the state is promoted in the context of economic development. Over time the nature of this central role of the state was modified. For instance, the state is the mobilizer of economic growth in the 1960's, the guardian of national defense in the 70's, and the benefactor for social welfare in the 1980's and onwards. Accordingly, the textbooks convey the message that the government's role in society is crucial to bring about economic development.

The textbooks' position on economic growth is apparent in their organization of informations on the environment. Until the 1985 textbook, the issue of environmental destruction is not mentioned. Rather, the textbooks keep the nation's sights set on growth, thereby legitimizing the exploitation of resources for the sake of modernization.

2. What type of political system is emphasized as legitimate and desirable for Korean society and what citizenship role is implied for students?

Textbooks promote western liberal democracy as the chosen political model for Korean society and characterize the democratic system by the four virtues of freedom, equality, a political system governed by and for the people and social welfare. To be specific, the textbook presented freedom or liberty as a prerequisite to a democratic system, and interpreted it as a liberal-democratic conception of social equality. The democratic ideal of a government elected by the people is circumvented by portraying plebiscites to approve authoritarian constitutional rearrangements as democratic. Accompanying all discussions of democracy and/or individual freedoms are warnings about the dangers of political instability. Finally, democracy is portrayed as a system capable of generating happiness in life, via economic development and the benefits of a welfare society. The legitimation of democracy is accomplished in the same way that capitalism is fostered, by depicting the two systems using an ideological comparison. The textbooks disparage communism as a flawed system which inherently produces oppression and inequality, dictatorships and an impoverished society. In short, textbooks present an uncritical orientation to liberal democracy and fail to encourage students to reflect on threats to democratic systems or on divergence between the real and the ideal. A passive rather than active model of citizenship education is emphasized through the textbooks.

Regarding the political components of a democratic system, textbooks present material on the constitution, the tripartite organization of government and the party system. In dealing with the constitutions, the 1975 textbook justifies the amendment of the October Yushin constitution as if it were grounded upon the people's consent, although it was actually aimed at consolidating the regime's power in the name of 'Korean style democracy'. The tripartite system is depicted as a balanced system and, except in the 1965 textbook, the dominance of the executive over the judiciary and legislature is either not addressed or is justified. Similarly, the 1965 textbooks give an objective if conventional overview of political parties, while the 1975 textbook depicts parties as a bodies seeking people's consent according to a party line and not as a body which reflects the people's voice. In the more recent 1985 textbook, public organizations such as the National Assembly were depicted as fair and impartial mediators of social conflict, while still stressing the necessity for limits to fairness and impartiality on the individual level. The idea of negotiation or compromise as part of the role of the citizen imparts the textbooks' liberal-democratic orientation to politics, while leaving unexamined the structural inequalities and uneven distribution of power among sectors of society.

In orienting students to the ideas of a democratic society, the textbooks define the roles of citizen and leader, and it is here that the unique sense of Korean politics is captured. Building upon the conservative influence of Confucianism, the hierarchical and/or unequal relationship between the ruler and subject is made clear by emphasizing the citizen's duties rather than the leader's responsibilities. The citizen's role is specified through obligations such as abiding with the law as well as active participation and cooperation in the economic, political, and social development of nation. In contrast, the reciprocal responsibility and accountability of a ruler to care for their citizens, which is expected in Confucianist ideals, is expediently excluded from students' and teachers' consideration.

Citizens' rights are portrayed as the reward for being a compliant citizen rather than as rights to be exercised that are inherent to the democratic system. This perspective is extended by the reconceptualization of human rights as citizens' rights. Further, statements in the textbooks that the constitution of South Korea protects and guarantees the full realization of human rights is in direct contradiction to the UN Report on the Status of Human Rights Observance in Korea. This restriction of citizen's rights is also observed in the absence of content dealing with political dissident until the most recent, 1990, textbook.

In terms of leadership roles a political evolution that parallels political changes is evident. The president who is depicted in personal terms as an omnipotent figure in the 1975 textbook, is described in terms of his formal role in the 1985 textbook. In both cases, however, the role of leader continues to be oriented to the cause of economic development, national defense and education. The role of citizen is characterized as one who conforms to the leader's plan, rather than as one who freely participates in the process of governance including the selection of a leader. Thus, the political orientation encouraged by the textbooks falls short of democratic ideals.

3. What images of North Korea are represented in the textbooks and what are their overt and hidden ideological themes?

A review of the portrayal of North Korea in textbooks was undertaken by following the three main categories of analysis; political, economic and social. Firstly, the North Korean political system is represented as the exact opposite to the South Korean system - as dictatorial, ridiculous, unstable, treasonous, and one which attempts to subvert South Korean democracy. Secondly, the North Korean economic system is represented as unfair, unmotivating, inefficient, stagnant and an economy readying itself for an invasion of South. Lastly, the North Korean society is portrayed as rigid, inhumane and in short supply of food and goods.

This binary distinction between North and South Korea in the South Korean textbooks contributes to the ideological legitimation of the South Korean system, and maintains and reinforces the status quo rather than promoting reconciliation of the two extremes. These hidden ideological themes are obvious in the strong advocacy for the need of national security, rather than the need for reunification. The message of national security is evident throughout the time period examined but is embodied in different political messages, such as the urgent need for nation building in the '65's textbook, the need for economic development in the '75 textbook, and construction of a democratic welfare nation in the '85 textbook. Above all, national defense was stressed to guard against the supposed threat posed not only from the North, but also from dissidents in the South.

The existence and depiction of North Korea in the textbooks functioned to obstruct thinking about the reunification of Korea. On the one hand, this was done by blaming North Korea's unwillingness as the major obstacle in reunification. On the other hand, it was done by supporting heavy militarization and the US military presence in South Korea. Textbooks thus facilitated the reproduction of the status quo in the Korean peninsula by portraying the North as a rival rather than necessary for reunification. Although the 1990 and 1991 textbooks amended these views, they still fail to propose practical measures for achieving the task of reunification.

4. How do the textbooks portray and legitimate the role of school and other social/ cultural institutions in Korean society?

Textbooks portray the family as the primary agency of socialization. The family is seen in textbooks as teaching the student the basic status roles prescribed in Confucianism for the purpose of preserving traditional role models. The ideal role model for students is oriented to conforming to authority in the family context, and later extending this orientation to the relationship between teacher and student in the educational context, and finally, to the relationship between ruler and subject in the political context. The ideal family structure was identified as male-headed household, in contrast to the less desirable single mother household.

Korean textbooks depict school as an important institution in terms of inculcating values, attitudes and knowledge. Assuming that schooling is a conservative process designed to legitimate authority and establish 'disciplinary' power over the subject, textbooks recognize the need for molding the student into a 'normal' subject. This concept of schooling was legitimatized by way of the functional-meritocratic assumption, where education is seen as an efficient means to develop capabilities and prepare students to enter reputable jobs in society.

The textbooks portrayed the media as a system that is reliable, fair, informative and one on which people can depend for their knowledge of 'the world'. The only analysis of religion was in promoting a favorable image of institutionalized religion in the early textbooks.

Textbook treatment of the interrelationship of socializing institutions is to give a functional explanation of the various social systems which dominate over the individual member of society. In the content on social institutions, textbooks attempt to establish the necessity for 'reliable' social institutions, without any examination of who benefits from social institutions or of institutions' oppressive nature. While depicting the current social system as the only alternative, the textbooks emphasize the value of cooperation with the social group's 'common' goal and the virtues of smooth social life, all in the name of preserving the social order.

5. Are there any representations of social inequality in terms of social class, gender, and region and what implications do these hold for the social consciousness of the students?

The analysis of social inequality in terms of class was on an economic rather than social-cultural perspective, due to the heavy emphasis on the relations between employers and labor. The working class was depicted as demanding and impatient for wage increases. The capitalist class was portrayed as being more considerate of matters concerning not only their own business but also the economy as a whole. In order to resolve these conflicting interests, the textbooks merely promoted the value of cooperation as essential to the stable economic development of the nation. Students are not exposed to exploitative conditions of the work force under Korea's authoritarian model of modernization. As for the social security of the poor, the textbooks did not present the issue of poverty as a serious social concern except in the 1965 textbook. It is notable that the issue of social welfare was appropriated by the government after 1985 in its efforts to advocate for economic growth and for citizens' compliance with duties such as tax payment.

On issues of gender as on issues of class, the Confucian orientation to authority is maintained. Textbook content about gender clearly legitimates patriarchal values and relationships. Differences between the sexes are emphasized with women's role depicted as home-bound, and men's role as more 'society-bound'. Students are not sensitized to issues of gender equity.

The treatment of regionalism in the textbooks is clearly revealed in the ideological description of one region compared to the other. As early as the 1965 textbooks, the southeast region (Yongnam) is selected as the strategic zone for economic development and the southwest region is devalued as a region without promise. Government and corporations are identified as pivotal organizations in eliminating social conflicts. Rural-urban disparity is not discussed in a way which might encourage understanding of unequal development. Rather, by dwelling on the so-called backward development of the rural sector, textbooks do not move beyond the social prejudice toward and stereotyping of rural people.

6. How is the interaction between the different (i.e. Oriental/Western) cultures presented and what does this mean for the role of textbooks as mediators of cultural knowledge in a society subject to intensive forces of modernization?

The analysis of cultural interactions began with a look at the text's call to adopt Western culture, so that society could break its ties from the traditional form of family system. With an ideal picture of the family, as having two parents and few children, the 1965 and 1975 textbook favors the adoption of a Western style family system. At the same time, the textbooks also attempt to retain the basic traditional values that bind family members within Confucian role relationships. As the society modernized and social change occurred, the textbooks changed their messages. For example, the 1985 and 1990 textbooks began to emphasize the importance of traditional values such as respect for elders and the merits of a large family system. The tension within this promotion of traditional values on the one hand and the advocacy of Western style of family on the other hand is evidenced in the in the clash of the traditional and western/modern cultures that is addressed in recent textbooks.

As a way of facilitating rapid social change to a modern society, textbook repeatedly invoke the image of the West mainly, by focusing on American culture and by reflecting Korea's political/economic relationship with the US. Portraying the US as the supreme power in the world, textbooks promote the idea that Korea should not only regard American culture as the criterion of value but should also emulate the American style of politics, economy and culture. This valuation of Western culture is in contrast to the neglect of all other cultural models. Aside from the American case, intercultural understanding is ignored. Other cultures and especially African and indigenous cultures receive little mention.

This limited cultural understanding has affected in foreign trade relationships. The economic system that was established in Korea was modelled after Western capitalism, and Korea's trade relationships have therefore, mainly targeted Western countries. Only recently has Korea and its textbooks recognized the need for wider trade horizons.

Thus far the major findings have been summarized in terms of the research questions that guided this study. There are, however, additional findings that are related and relevant. Firstly, the way textbook information is selected or omitted is significant. Textbooks construct a particular picture of the world which highlights or devalues information depending on the political agenda. For example, the textbooks omit any critical evaluation of capitalism or democracy, focusing only on their importance for industrialization and neglecting rural development. Textbooks also lacked a balanced treatment of social inequality in class, gender, region and ethnicity. Similarly and not surprisingly, the textbooks neglect or reinterpret human rights issues. In this way, the textbooks are a tool in the service of ideology and are designed to maintain the status quo.

Secondly, while the topics discussed above were consistently downplayed, reinterpreted or omitted, other topics that were sometimes neglected were at other times highlighted depending on the temper of the time. In instances when an issue is highlighted, the context that might enhance an understanding of the topic and its importance is not provided. An example of this occurs when in the 1970's, heavy industry was deemed to hold the key to a bright future. In the 1990's textbook, side-effects such as pollution are discussed but without the appropriate context that would raise questions about why such industrialization was pursued in the first place.

Thirdly and most importantly, certain issues are distorted, exploited or used in contradictory ways to suit a particular agenda or ideological position. For example, although early textbooks promote individual effort and self-sufficiency as essential for economic development, later the provision social welfare is appropriated as a justification for economic growth. A second example is the redefinition of human rights as the privileges of citizenship deriving from compliance with the state to suit the purposed of authoritarian regimes. The type of language used in textbooks is also significant in that it limits the boundaries of knowledge and reasoning on an issue. For example, the use of questioning or stating information in the text, especially in the study points, does not elucidating the 'real' questions about an issue, but instead limits the possible ways of thinking. This instrumental way of organizing knowledge is evident not only in the type of language used but also in the placement of the question within a unit of study. By placing a study points or major learning activities at the end of a learning unit, the questions reinforce mainstream perspectives on issues and rather than encouraging inquiry into alternatives.

With regards to the logical presentation of ideas, the textbooks often waived logic in favor of promoting an emotional tone about a topic. Topics were often presented in a highly emotional tone or in either/or forms of logic. For example, one text states that "if there are a lot of law violators, our country will fail". Although a fearsome prospect is evoked, no link is made between violation of the law and the collapse of a nation.

Discussion

In sum, the findings of this study reveal that the textbooks promote a particular orientation to the accumulation of national wealth by reproducing and maintaining the social relations of production through "educating" students to accept particular perspectives on South Korean society and development. This is not to say that education through the agency of the textbook, is confined to a mechanistic relationship between education and capital. Certainly, there are exemplars of contradictory and non-monolithic ideas in the textbooks due in part to the changing social and political conditions over the decades. It must be remembered, however, that any given child whose education is fixed within a particular time frame is exposed to textbooks that are consistent in their messages and that reflect the prevailing ideology. The exception to this case would be those children in school at the time that a change in textbooks is effected.

It must be remembered too that teachers play a role in mediating and interpreting textbook knowledge. Information does not flow undiluted from text to child. At the same time, in a centralized educational system where curricula and teaching are closely regulated by government and especially so in authoritarian regimes, the mediating effect of the teacher may be very limited.

In observing that educational knowledge is in the service of capitalist structural relations, and that attempts to resist those relations may be limited, one might be skeptical about how critical role of the textbooks is in the process of education. Textbook content may merely follow the trajectory of social change qua modernization in South Korea. Even if textbooks took a proactive stance by helping students to consider possible alternatives for development the effect might be limited given the larger circumstances of the society.

This limited function of education may be partly explained by the legitimation of the strong state control of education, where education was used to mobilize people for economic development after the Korean war. 'Vulgar' economic determinism was seen as a matter of survival for Korean. In reality, South Korea faces more challenges now than it ever faced in the past. As one of the NICs, it has to push further, since its economy is closely linked to the growth of global capitalism. Politically, South Korea is experiencing dramatic political changes in the move towards a democratic society. However, if we can assume that a democracy is a system which allows the expression of the people, then the monolithic voice from the small dominant group needs to be challenged and authentic citizens participation needs to be fostered.

On the cultural dimension, Korea is expected to undergo more value conflicts in the future. As the society continues to be Westernized, the movement to recapture the meaning of traditional culture will have to coexist with the emerging modern value system. Given this, compared to past decades, Korean society is now too complex to be guided only by the state.

The problem here is not whether the state should transfer to or share its power with other bureaucratic bodies such as the education ministry. The issue here is really how much the state (including the education ministry) is willing to compromise with the 'people' in selecting and distributing educational knowledge to build a healthy pluralistic society. Education must be flexible enough to accommodate the multiple needs of society. Most importantly, in order to realize democratic ideals and empower subjects, education should serve the people rather than the government. Only then can educational practice be truly meaningful to students and teachers.

Policy Implications

From the examining the textbooks, it is clear that the boundaries defining selection for textbook knowledge have undergone changes. For example, the focus of knowledge selection in the 60's and 70's was premised on economic priorities. In the 80's and 90's, a more critical perspective on the economic priorities was gradually approached. In keeping with this observation, the policy implications relative to the organization of textbook knowledge are as follows.

There is a need to develop and present the previously underdeveloped categories or themes. The content for social studies and moral education which can help students understand their society and civic morality, must endow them with the right to know the 'real' issues in their society and to develop capacities for active democratic citizenship. Thus, the categories that were deliberately ignored or underdeveloped need to be addressed.

In the economic sphere, critical awareness of capitalism and the global implications of its development must be explored. This would include coverage of topics related to the environment and to labor migration in and out of Korea. In addition, an explanation of the 'unique' role of the Korean state in the economic development process should be examined in the context of the reality of a free market economic system.

The cultural sphere is one crucial domain that deserves special attention by textbook planners in order to help students balance competing values. To achieve this, a more clear and comprehensive understanding of traditional and Western culture is needed, including how the dynamics of each affect Korean society.

As observed in the analysis, the topic of social inequality is the least conceptually developed section found in the social-cultural sphere. Increased depth of coverage about social inequality based on gender, class, region and ethnicity could be the very beginning of a critical pedagogy in which education would achieve some degree of autonomy and depart from its subservient role to capital and the dominant ideology. It is here that students can be empowered and that the seeds of social change can be sown. The specific issue of gender equity clearly needs to be addressed so that textbook knowledge can play a counteractive role in questioning partriarchal values and relationships.

In the political realm, textbook planners/organizers need to incorporate the Korean cultural (Confucian) tradition into their explanation of Korean democracy, where the government dominates over the other two state functions (legislature and judiciary). Without providing the historical origin of the state in Korean society, a distorted image of Korean democracy is given by equating it with the Western concept of democratic government. Accordingly, textbook knowledge can provide students with a concept of democracy grounded in the Korean context, in which the relationship of citizen and leader can be realistically defined and the merits and demerits of cultural influence on the political institutions can be understood.

The issues of national security, reunification and human rights require careful scrutiny due to their previous interlinkage and past exploitation for the state agenda. By dealing with the issue of national security for its own sake, the promotion of state ideology can be diminished, allowing the reunification issue to be approached from a more 'realistic' perspective. The issue of human rights is one that will challenge the present government to demonstrate their commitment to democracy.

Last but not least, the language used in the textbooks needs to be changed. Of crucial importance is the language used in the textbook because language and its usage directly influences a way of thinking and acting in a democratic society. The linguistic forms used by the textbooks require scrutiny, and need to be made more flexible and relevant so that multiple ways of thinking are promoted.

Certainly, the current level of government control of textbook and curriculum policy needs to be reconsidered and changed. One idea might be to provide a choice of textbooks so that different perspectives could be legitimized within the category of official knowledge.

Recommendations for Further Research

This study has revealed some issues via the analysis of school textbooks in Korean society. There are still other unresolved issues that need to be examined in order to understand the role textbooks play in the educational process.

1) An ethnographic study of how teachers and students 'use' textbooks to legitimate and delegitimate knowledge should be conducted to complement this study of the textbooks. As sociologists have noted, it is important to consider the dynamics of the actual teaching process and the use of textbooks.

2) It would be helpful to examine the relationship between the textbooks in the areas examined here to supplementary learning materials and other subject areas so that the boundaries of the sociology of school knowledge might be extended.

3) It would be interesting to analyze the linguistic forms used in textbooks and instruction to see how such forms might affect the reasoning process, and the implications for and relationships of this to power and knowledge in the educational context.

4) International research is needed in the area of cultural understanding; for example a comparison of the coverage of other countries in Korean textbooks with the coverage of Korea provided in other countries' textbooks might promote more understanding. Initially, this could be done by comparing the findings from this study and that from the KEDI studies.

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APPENDICES

1. 1965 Textbook Contents (pp.200-208)

2. 1975 Textbook Contents (pp.209-217)

3. 1984, 1986 Textbook Contents (pp.218-225)

4. 1989, 1990, 1991 Textbook Contents (pp. 226-232)

첫째로, 우리 나라는 매우 가난하다. 본래 우리 나라의 자연 자원은 그렇게 풍부하지는 못한 편이지만, 그것마저 남·북으로 갈라져 있기 때문에, 그 어느 쪽이나 경제적으로 자립하기가 힘들게 되어 있다. 그러나 자연 자원이 빈약하다는 것만으로 우리가 가난하게 살고 있다는 변명은 되지 않는다. (…) 노동하기를 싫어하는 국민이 가난하게 살지 않을 수 없다는 것은 당연한 일이 아니겠는가?
(E1-65-사회3-224-6)

모든 직업은 우리의 천직(天職)이다. 다시 말하면, 하느님이 우리에게 준 사명이라 할 수 있다. 물론 우리는 직업에 종사함으로써 생활에 필요한 비용을 얻고 있다. 그러나 직업의 참된 가치는 결코 생활을 유지하기 위한 수단으로서만 그쳐지는 것은 아니다. 우리는 인간으로서 반드시 사회에 기여하는 무엇인가를 담당하지 않으면 안 된다. 그리고 이러한 사명을 완수하기 위한 것이 바로 우리의 직업인 것이다.
(E1-65-사회3-222)

특히, 우리는 세계 어느 나라의 학생들보다도 더 많은 공부를 하고 누구에게도 뒤떨어지지 않는 실력을 키우지 않으면 안 된다. 그리고 나만이 아니라 우리 국민 모두가 이러한 실력을 가져야 하므로, 우리는 우리보다 못한 사람들을 가르치고 이 땅에서 한 사람의 문맹(文盲)도 남지 않도록 계몽(啓蒙)하지 않으면 안 된다.
(E1-65-사회3-231)

물론 이 세상에는, 경제적으로 곤궁에 빠져 있는 사람도 많고, 불행한 사람도 많다. 그러나, 이것이 반드시 자본주의 경제 제도의 폐단에서 나온 것으로만 본 것은 잘못이다. (…) 그것은 자본주의 경제를 그대로 유지 발전시키면서, 온당하고 합법적으로 개선할 수 있는 것이며, 미국을 위시한 세계의 강대국은 실지로 그렇게 하여 지금과 같이 번영하고 있는 것이다.
(E2-65-도덕-202-3)

기업가와 노동자 : 현대 경제는 사회적 분업으로서만 구성되고 있는 것이 아니다. 다시, 생산 활동이 이루어 지고 있는 직장 안을 보면 기업가(企業家)와 노동자(勞動者)가 서로 다른 기능을 다하고 있는 사실을 알게 된다. 현대 경제를 자본주의 경제(資本主義經濟)라고 부르는데 이 경제 제도 안에서는 기업가 또는 자본가(資本家)와 노동자가 경제 활동을 이룩하는 원동력이 되고 있다.
(E2-65-사회3-121)

또, 농업도 아주 폐지하는 것이 아니므로, 쌀의 단위 면적당 수확량을 올리기 위하여 어떠한 방법을 쓰는 것이 좋은가도 생각하여 보자. 경작 방법을 어떻게 개량할 것인가, 비료를 더 줄 것인가, 농약을 더 많이 사용할 것인가, 더 좋은 종자를 어떻게 보급시킬 수 있는가, 근대적 영농(營農) 방법을 어떻게 도입할 것인가 등도 연구하여 보자.
(E3-65-사회1-17)

현재의 독농가(篤農家)를 찾아 보고, 울산의 농업의 과거와 장래에 관한 이야기를 들어 보자. 그리고, 울산이 공업 센터로 변모되어 갈 때, 울산의 농업이 어떻게 되어 갈 것인가도 서로 토론하여 보자.
(E3-65-사회1-15)

끝으로, 우리 나라 공업에 있어서 중소 기업이 막대한 %를 차지하고 있다. 이것은 농업에 있어서와 같이 공업의 영세성을 말하는 것이다.

(E4-65-사회1-128)

지금까지 우리 나라는 농업 국가로서 자처해 왔지만, 팽창하는 인구로 말미암아 농업에만 의존해서는 경제적으로 자립할 수 없다는 것이 판명되었다. (…) 그렇다고 해서 경작 면적(耕作面積)을 무한정으로 넓힐 수는 없는 것이므로, 부득이 산업 구조를 농업 본위에서 공업 위주로 전환시키고, 공업제품(製品)을 외국에 팔아 그 대가(代價)로 농산물을 수입하도록 하지 않으면 안 된다.
(E4-65-사회3-227-8)

유럽이나 미국과 같은 선진국에서는 대체로 1차 산업 10%, 2차 산업 45%, 3차 산업 45%의 구조를 가지고 있는 것이다. 우리도 공업을 발전시킴으로써 2차 산업의 %를 증가시키는 방향으로 산업 구조를 변경시키도록 노력해야 한다.
(E4-65-사회1-103-4)

그러나, 우리 나라와 같이 인구가 많고 자원이 부족한 나라에서의 살 길은 원료를 수입하여 이것을 가공(加工)하여 수출하는 가공 무역을 진흥시키는 데에 있다. 공업을 발전시키는 동시에 이러한 가공 무역을 확대시켜야 한다.
(E4-65-사회1-133)

우리 나라의 수출입의 상대국은 일본과 미국이다. 1964년 수출에 있어서도 수출 총액의 32.1%가 대(對) 일본 수출이었으며, 29.9%는 대미(對美) 수출이었다. 수입에 있어서도 미국으로부터의 수입이 총 수입의 50.0%이었으며, 일본에서의 수입이 27.2%를 차지하고 있었다. 따라서, 이 두 나라가 무역에 있어서 우리 나라의 가장 좋은 상대국인 것을 알 수 있다.
(E5-65-사회1-133)

다시 말하면, 외국의 자본가는 우리를 신용할 수 있고, 우리 장래를 믿을 수 있어야 투자를 하는 것인데, 현재 선진 여러 나라의 자본이 앞을 다투어 들어 오고 있음은 매우 반가운 일이다.
(E5-65-도덕-198)

또한, 후진국이 새로 공업을 건설하려고 할 때에 외국의 자본을 받아들인다. 그렇게 함으로써 국내 자본의 부족에서 오는 공업 건설상의 지장이 되는 점을 없애려고 한다. 이처럼 자본의 수입을 둘러싸고 나라끼리 경제 교류를 맺는 경우가 많다. 다만 외국의 자본을 받아들이는 나라의 입장에서 생각할 것은, 어디까지나 외국 자본을 환영하는 입장에 서는 것은 물론이려니와, 그와 동시에 산업의 지배권이 외국 자본가의 손 안에 들어가지 않도록 여러 가지로 고려하는 바가 있어야 한다.
(E5-65-사회3-272-3)

그러므로, 우리가 이러한 우방의 원조를 헛되이 쓰지 말고, 이를 알뜰히 활용하면서 우리의 총력을 경주한다면 우리의 경제 부흥은 약속되어 있는 것이다.
(E5-65-사회3-285)

그러므로, 경제 계획을 실천하는 정부로서는 경제 계획의 원리를 국민에게 알리는 계몽 운동을 게을리 하지 말아야 할 것이다.
(E6-65-사회3-169)

경제 생활이 점차 발달하게 되면 민간 기업가들이 생산 활동을 위하여 새로이 자본을 투자

하는 경향이 적어진다. 한 나라의 생산 활동이 순조롭게 이루어지려면 기업가들의 투자가 더욱 왕성해져야 하는데, 오히려 그에 반대되는 경향이 나타난다. 그 결과로 여러 가지 폐단이 나타나고 있는데 현저한 것은 생산 활동에 종사하는 노동자들 중에서 직업을 잃고 실업자가 되는 사람의 수가 많아지는 현상이다. 국가는 이러한 폐단을 없애기 위하여 그 경비를 지출함에 있어 직접 자본을 투자한다. 그뿐만 아니라, 민간 기업가가 중요한 산업을 새로이 건설하려고 할 때에는 상당액의 보조금을 주기도 하며, 그 산업에 대해서는 얼마동안 조세를 받지 않는 등 조치를 취하기도 한다.
(E6-65-사회3-158-9)

첫째로, 한국을 후진국이라는 경제 상태에서 하루바삐 벗어나게 하여 국민들이 즐겁고 여유있는 생활을 할 수 있게 하기 위해서는 민간인들의 부지런하고 능률이 높은 경제 활동을 적극 장려하는 동시에, 정부로서도 국가나 국민 전체에 중대한 영향을 미치는 산업을 건설함에 있어서는 능동적인 지도 역할을 다하기로 되어 있다.
(E6-65-사회3-165)

현대의 경제 제도 밑에서 국가는 여러 가지 역할을 다하지 않을 수 없게 되었다. 국가가 스스로 경제 활동에 대하여 많은 관심을 가질 뿐만 아니라 직접 산업의 건설자로서 활약하기도 하며, 민간 기업을 보조하고 또한 경제 생활이 순조롭게 이루어지도록 역할을 하지 않을 수가 없게 되었다.
(E6-65-사회3-157-8)

1. 자연 환경과 인간 생활과의 관계를 정당하게 이해하도록 하여 소위 환경론에 치우치지 않도록 유의한 것. (…)
4. 자연을 유효하게 이용하는 동시에, 자원을 애호하고 보호하는 태도를 기르도록 유의한 것.
(E7-65-사회1-머리말)

게다가 최근 화학 비료를 다량으로 사용하고 퇴비를 등한히 여기고 있는 관계로 토양의 산성도(酸性度)가 높아, 소위 산성 토양이 널리 분포되어 있다.
(E7-65-사회1-94)

삼림을 보호하기 위하여, 우선 남벌을 없애고, 사방 공사를 하고, 해충을 구제하는 한편, 식목을 철저히 하고 벌채량과 생장량과의 균형을 유지하도록 해야 한다.
(E7-65-사회1-113)

그러나, 좁은 국토와 적은 자원을 될 수 있는 한 유효하게 사용하기 위해서는 계획적인 개발이 필요하게 된다. 예컨대, 강의 상류에 발전을 하기 위하여 댐을 만들면, 하류에 관개 용수가 부족하여 농업에 지장이 없도록 강의 유역 전체에 대한 계획이 필요하게 된다. (…) 또, 댐 건설에 있어서 인조 호수(人造湖水)가 나타나면, 그 물 밑으로 들어간 마을에 살던 사람에 대한 대책도 생각해야 한다.
(E7-65-사회1-118)

동시에 이 지역의 해안은 그다지 깊지 아니하므로, 이것을 이용하여 간척지를 개척하여 논으로 만들어야 한다. (…) 이러한 간척지를 많이 개발함으로써 우리는 식량을 더 많이 생산할 수 있으며, 식량 자급의 목표에 도달할 수 있는 것이다.
(E7-65-사회1-55)

그러나, 서양의 가정 생활이 지나치게 소가족을 위주로 한 관계로 여러 가지 폐단도 또한 없지 않은데, 예를 들면, 자식들이 탈선(脫線)을 하여도 부모가 그것을 타이르고 막지 못하는 경우라든가, 늙은 조부모(祖父母)를 양로원에 들어가게 하여 쓸쓸하게 여생(餘生)을 보내도록 하는 경우 등은 아무래도 좋은 일이라고는 생각할 수 없는 것이다.
(SC1-65-사회3-31)

그렇기 때문에 옛날 사람들은, 아버지와 자식 사이에는 사랑이 있어야 하고, 남자와 여자 사이에는 구별이 있어야 하며, 형제 자매 사이에는 순서가 있어야 한다고 가르쳤다.
(SC1-65-사회3-50)

따라서, 날로 격심해 가는 국제적인 경쟁에 있어서 뒤떨어지지 않기 위하여서는, 우리는 항상 외국의 문화 발전에 주목하여, 필요한 것을 그때그때에 받아 들이도록 노력하지 않으면 안 되겠다. 그러나, 아무리 외국의 문화를 받아들이는 것이 필요하다고 할지라도, 그것으로 말미암아 우리 자신의 고유한 문화를 무시하는 일이 있어서는 안 된다.
(SC1-65-사회3-179)

우리 나라의 가족 제도는 아직 옛날의 모습을 완전히 탈피(脫皮)하지 못하고 있다.
(SC1-65-사회3-31)

그러므로, 이러한 소가족에서는 모두가 신뢰와 애정으로써 뭉칠 수 있으며, 남녀(男女)의 차별도 또한 그 자취를 감추게 된다. 소가족 제도야말로 모든 가족이 굳게 결합하는 동시에 각자가 자기의 능력을 충분히 발휘할 수 있는 이상적인 제도가 된다고 말할 수 있다.
(SC1-65-사회3-30)

그리고, 이러한 가족들은 서로 피가 통해 있기 때문에 신뢰와 애정으로써 굳게 뭉칠수 있다. 그러나, 이 때에 만일 가정의 성원이 지나치게 자기 생각만을 하여 각자가 지켜야 할 본분(本分)을 저버리는 경우에는, 가정 윤리는 파괴되고 가정 생활은 그 본래의 목적을 달성할 수 없게 된다.
(SC1-65-사회3-49-50)

이리하여, 오늘날 우리는 신문과 잡지를 통하여 매일매일 일어나는 여러 가지 사실에 관한 소식을 남김 없이 들을 수 있고, 또한 그것에 관한 학자나 평론가(評論家)들의 의견도 들을 수 있게 되었다. 이러한 점에서 신문과 잡지는 현대 문명 생활에 있어서 하루도 없어서는 안 되는 것이 되었다.
(SC2-65-사회3-196)

가령, 우리의 집안을 살펴보기로 한다면, 우리 집에서는 아버지가 밖에서 벌어 들여오신 돈으로 어머니가 살림을 꾸려 나아가신다. 나는 학교에 다니지만, 국민 학교에 다니는 동생의 학습 지도를 하기도 하고, 때로는 할아버지나 할머니의 어깨를 주물러 드리기도 한다.
(SC2-65-사회3-8-9)

또한 그 반면에 여러 가지 사회 보장 제도(社會保障制度)를 마련하여 노동자일지라도 인간으로서의 생활을 충분히 해 나아갈 수 있도록 세심한 주의를 하고 있다. 세째로, 주택 문제에 대하여는 후생 주택(厚生住宅)을 많이 지어 싼 값으로 주택을 쉽게 얻어 들 수 있게 해 주고, 직업 안정소(職業安定所)와 같은 곳을 통하여 실업자를 구제하는데 전력을 다하고 있다. 팽창하는 인구에 대하여는 가족 계획(家族計劃) 같은 것을 선전하기도 하고, 고아원이나 양로원을 건립하여 불쌍한 사람들이 거리에서 방황하지 않도록 힘쓰고 있다.

(SC3-65-사회3-214)

그렇기 때문에, 노동자들은 임금을 올려달라고 요구하게 되지만, 그렇다고 해서 그 요구를 다 들어주는 경우에는 기업체의 운영 자체가 곤란해지므로 사용주는 부득이 그러한 요구에 응하는 것을 거부하지 않을 수 없게 된다. 이리하여, 사용주와 노동자는 서로 싸우게 되며, 만일 이때에 노동자들이 단결하여 노동 조합(勞動組合)을 조직하고, 그 단결된 힘으로 파업(罷業)을 한다든가 하는 경우에는 사태는 심각해지지 않을 수 없게 된다. 그리고, 이러한 사태가 시급히 수습되지 않을 때에는 이것은 곧 사회에 커다란 혼란을 가져올 수도 있게 된다. 이것이 **노동문제**인데, 우리 나라에도 지금 이러한 문제가 때때로 일어나고 있다.
(SC3-65-사회3-210-1)

우리 나라에서도 옛날부터 활쏘기, 칼쓰기 또는 씨름과 같은 운동이 널리 유행하였고, 또 줄다리기와 같은 집단적인 경기도 행하여지고 있다. 그리고 남자들만이 아니라 여자들도 운동을 좋아하여, 그네뛰기, 널뛰기와 같은 그들에게 알맞는 운동이 널리 행하여지고 있었던 것이다.
(SC4-65-사회3-199)

그러나, 농촌에는 아직도 불합리(不合理)한 면이 많이 남아 있어서 농민들은 여전히 가난에 허덕이고 있으며, 특히 봄이 되면 춘궁기(春窮期)를 맞이하여 사회에 많은 소동을 일으키고 있다. 도시와 농촌 사이의 빈부(貧富)의 차가 심하다는 것은 그 사회가 건전하게 발달하지 못하고 있다는 것을 말해 주는 것이 되므로, 어떻게 해서든지 농촌의 생활을 합리화하여 농민들의 생활 수준을 올려야 한다는 것은 우리의 시급한 사회 문제가 되지 않을 수 없다.
(SC5-65-사회3-209)

그러므로, 부산과 울산을 중심으로 우리 나라의 새로운 공업 지대를 조성해야 한다. 그러면 이 지역은 경인 공업 지대의 다음으로 우리 나라의 새로운 공업 지대를 이루게 될 것이며, 이 지역은 한층 더 큰 경제적 발전을 보게 될 것이다. 어떠한 공업이 이 지역에 있으며, 또 어떠한 공업이 발전할 가능성이 있는가 조사하여 보자.
(SC5-65-사회1-53)

[연습문제]
1. 남부 지방에 옛날에 있었던 나라들을 조사하여 보자.
2. 남부 지방의 약도를 그리고 산맥, 하천, 평야를 기입하여 보자.
3. 울산 공업 센터의 장래에 대하여 서로 토의하여 보자.
4. 부산항에는 어떠한 상품이 수입되며 수출되나를 조사하여 보자.
(SC5-65-사회1-65)

목포(木浦) 영산강 하구에 자리잡은 항도이며, 도시는 남북으로 길게 발달되고 있다. 동서는 그다지 넓지 않다. 특히 서부는 유달산(儒達山)이 있어, 도시의 발전에 방해가 된다. 그러므로, 이 도시는 장래 북부 이외에는 발전할 여지가 없다.
(SC5-65-사회1-62)

태평양에는 많은 섬들이 있다. (…) 많은 섬은 미크로네시아, 멜라네시아, 폴리네시아의 세 부분으로 나눌 수 있다. 이 섬들은 대부분 열대에 있으나, 기후는 바다의 영향을 받아 비교적 살기에 좋다. 하와이와 같이 문화가 진전된 곳도 있으나, 대부분은 인구도 적고 원주민은 문화에 뒤떨어진 생활을 하고 있다.
(SC6-65-사회1-253)

우리 나라는 이미 민주 진영에 속하는 세계 여러 나라를 상대로 우리 나라의 상품을 수출하기도 하며, 그 나라들의 상품을 수입하는 무역 관계를 널리 맺고 있다. 아시아 주에 있는 나라들 중에서는 자유 중국, 홍콩, 일본, 필리핀, 타이 등 여러 나라들과 긴밀한 무역 관계를 맺고 있으며 유럽 주에 있는 나라들 중에서는 벨기에, 프랑스, 서독, 이탈리아, 네덜란드, 스웨덴, 스위스, 영국 등과 꾸준히 서로 무역을 하고 있다. 아메리카 주에 있는 나라들 중에서는 미국과 캐나다와 긴밀한 무역 관계를 맺고 있다. 그 밖에 오스트레일리아를 비롯한 오세아니아 주에 있는 여러 지역, 그리고 아프리카 주의 여러 나라와도 무역관계를 맺고 차차로 더욱 활발해져 가는 실정에 있다.
(SC6-65-사회3-273-4)

미국의 무역액은 세계 제 1로, 세계 무역을 좌우하는 힘을 가지고 있다. 해마다 수출 초과이며, 2차 대전 후 세계 무역이 급속히 전전의 수준으로 회복할 수 있었던 것도 미국의 힘에 의한 것이다.
(SC6-65-사회1-234)

다음에, 수산 자원의 개발에 있어서도 동일하다. 이 지역의 수산 자원은 풍부하나, 어획(漁獲)시설과 기술이 좋지 못하여 평화선을 넘어오는 일본 어선에게 많은 수산 자원을 남획(濫獲)당하고 있다. 그러므로, 우리가 수산 자원을 좀더 많이 개발하기 위해서는 수산업의 근대화도 요청되는 것이다.
(SC6-65-사회1-51-2)

우리 나라에 민주주의가 들어온 것은 우리 겨레가 간악한 일본의 지배로부터 해방된 1945년 다음부터의 일이다.
(SC6-65-사회3-25)

이어서 2차 대전에 있어서는 연합국의 군수고(軍需庫)의 역할을 하였고, 전후에는 자유 세계의 지도자가 된 것이 미국이다.
(SC6-65-사회1-225)

수입품은 식량과 원료이며, 이 중 코오피와 사탕이 높은 %를 차지하고 있음은 이 나라의 생활 수준을 말하여 주는 것이다.
(SC6-65-사회1-234-5)

농어촌의 부흥도 또한 그러하다. 이는 우리 국민의 꾸준한 노력과, 민주 우방, 특히 미국의 아낌없는 원조의 덕택이라 하겠다.
(SC6-65-도덕-196)

이러한 헌법에 의하여, 위에서 본 바와 같이, 우리 나라 정부는 국민의 총선거를 통하여 세운 정부로서, 국민이 나라와 정부의 주인이다. 이러한 정부는 두말할 것 없이 민주 정부이며, 이러한 정부를 세움으로써 우리 나라도 민주 정치를 제도적으로 완성하게 된 것이다.
(P1-65-사회3-64-65)

이 초안은 영국식의 의원 내각제 정부 형태를 내용으로 하는 것이었다. 그러나, 이승만 박사의 주장으로 그 내용이 대통령제로 고쳐져서 (…) 국회를 통과하였으며...
(P1-65-사회3-65)

1948년 정부가 수립된 이래 10여년 밖에 되지 않았지만, 위에서 본 바와 같이 여러 차례에 걸쳐 헌법이 개정되었다. 물론, 헌법은 날로 발전하고 변해 가는 정세에 맞추기 위하여 개정될 수도 있고, 또 그래야만 하는 것이지만, 우리 나라의 헌정의 역사는 그와 같은 필요에서 개헌이 이루어진 것이 아니라 대통령에 다시 당선되도록 하기 위하여 대통령의 선거 방법을 고치거나 정권을 잡기 위하여 정부 형태를 바꾸어 놓는 등, 그때그때의 정치 세력의 정치적 목적이나 목표가 개헌의 동기가 되었던 것이다.
(P1-65-사회3-69)

권력 분립의 원칙이 지나치게 강조된 나머지, 삼권이 지나치게 독립적이 되어 서로 고립하고 대립 적대한다면 그 결과는 도리어 나라일의 진행을 방해하게 되는 것이다. 그러므로, 국민의 자유와 복리를 위하여 삼권은 서로 분립되어 있어야 하는 동시에, 삼권은 또 서로 협동하는 길이 마련되어 있어야 한다.
(P1-65-사회3-85-6)

정당은 이처럼 같은 의견에 찬성하는 사람들끼리 모여서 자기들의 주장이 가장 옳다고 주장하고, 이러한 의견을 실지로 국가 정치에 실현해 보려고 하는 데서 생겨 나게 된다. 그러므로, 정당은 무엇보다도 국민이 생각하고 바라고 있는 바를 정리하여 국민 의사가 국민의 소리에 그치지 않고 실지로 국가 정치에 반영될 수 있도록 이를 조직화하는 역할을 하는 것이다.
(P1-65-사회3-97-8)

소련의 이러한 권력 집중제의 정부 형태는 공산주의의 강력한 수행을 위하여 피할 수 없는 것이므로, 공산 정권 하에서의 정부 형태는 독재 정부가 되지 않을 수 없는 것이다.
(P1-65-사회3-105)

[연습 문제]
1. 공산주의를 배격하는 까닭을 생각해 보자.
(P1-65-사회3-109)

옛날처럼, 정치는 높은 사람들이 하는 일이니까, 우리는 관에서 하는 일에 그저 따라가면 된다는 권위에의 맹종과, 정치는 정당이니 정치인이 하는 것이니, 우리는 모른다는 무관심이 지배하는 곳에서는 민주 정치는 발전할 수 없는 것이다.
(P1-65-사회3-110)

자유 민주주의를 신봉하고 있는 모든 민주 국가는 이미 공공 복리의 원칙에 따라, 노동자 무산자는 물론이요, 근로 능력이 없는 사람이나 노약한 사람의 보호를 위하여 여러 가지 사회 제도를 마련함으로써, 공산 사회에서는 상상도 못 할 만큼의 유복하고 자유로운 생활을 즐기고 있다.
(P1-65-도덕-203)

특히, 민주 국가인 우리 나라에서는 여하한 계급의 차별도 인정되지 않고 있으며, 남자와 여자, 또는 직업의 종류에 따라 차별 대우를 받지 않게 되어 있으므로, 누구든지 자기의 능력에 따라 사회에 봉사하고, 이렇게 함으로써 인간으로서의 그 사명을 다할 수 있도록 보장되어 있는 것이다.
(P1-65-사회3-217)

이상의 공산 국가들은 다소의 차는 있으나, 국민들의 생활은 다 같이 비참하다. 여러분은

여러 가지 문헌을 통하여 공산 국가들의 생활이 어떻게 비참한가를 잘 파악하고, 동시에 자유스러운 생활이 얼마나 좋은가를 다시 한번 감사하는 마음으로 생각하여 보자.
(P1-65-사회1-221)

법은 국민의 권리와 의무에 관한 것 등을 규정하고 있는데, 만일 국민이 이와 같이 법에 규정된 대로 권리를 행사하고 의무를 이행하지 않는다면, 국가의 질서는 하루 아침에 파괴되고 말 것이다.
(P2-65-사회3-51)

피투성이 싸움 끝에 찾은 이 나라 이 강산을 수호하려는 마음이 3천만 우리 동포의 가슴을 메웠다.
(P2-65-도덕-6)

이 사실도 또한, 우리의 사회가 불안하고 우리들의 태도가 모호하면, 공산당의 침략 야욕에 더욱 불을 지르게 할 따름이라는 것을 우리들에게 깨닫게 하는 것이다.
(P2-65-도덕-53)

따라서, 선거는 국가 정치가 국민의 자유와 복리를 위한 것이 되도록 하는 첩경이다. 따라서, 선거를 귀찮다고 기권하거나, 더구나 돈에 매수되든지 또는 개인적 이해 관계에서 투표한다면 올바른 민주 정치는 도저히 바랄 수 없다. 그러므로, 선거를 비롯하여 매사에 국민은 올바르게 권리를 행사하고 의무를 수행해야만 나라 일은 국민을 위한 것으로 될 수 있을 것이다.
(P2-65-사회3-111)

국민 협조의 필요성 국민 협조를 얻는다는 것은 경제 계획의 성과를 결정하는 중요한 조건의 하나로 되어 있다. 민주 국가의 경제 계획은 국민을 위하여, 국민에 의하여 이루어졌기 때문에, 국민의 협조 없이는 어떠한 경제 계획도 실천에 옮겨질 수 없는 것이다.
(P2-65-사회3-168)

이토록 많은 학생들이, 국가의 위기에 처하여 목숨을 내걸고 용감히 싸운 사실은, 화랑의 정신을 이어 받은 우리 나라 학생들의 민족적 자랑이 아닐 수 없다. 우리는 우리의 선배들이 공산 침략을 물리치기 위하여, 자진 출정한 거룩한 모범을 망각해서는 안 될 것이다. 우리들도 선배들의 뒤를 따라 언제든지 나라 일을 위하여, 몸을 바치는 정의감과 용감성을 가지고 있어야 하겠다.
(P2-65-도덕-91)

그러므로, 남북이 한 나라로 민주 통일되고, 또 국제적 보장이 되지 않는 한, 외국 군대의 무조건 철퇴라는 것은 우리 나라의 공산화의 길을 터놓는 가장 위험하고 비현실적 처사인 것이다.
(P3-65-도덕-30)

이와 같은 현세에 비추어, 우리는 어디까지나 정부의 방침에 따라 일관된 통일 방안을 지지하여야 된다.
(P3-65-도덕-193)

그러기 위하여는, 우리는 무엇보다도 먼저 우리 대한 민국의 정치, 경제, 문화, 체도가 자유 민주 정신에 의하여 크게 발전하여, 공산 독재의 북한으로서는 도저히 비등할 수 없을 만

한 공적을 이룸으로써 민주 통일 정부 수립의 기초 실력을 닦아야 한다.
(P3-65-도덕-193-4)

이리하여, 국토가 남북으로 양단된 우리 민족은 이 때부터 민족의 자주권을 존중하는 민주주의 애국 진영과 소련 상전에 맹종하는 공산주의 매국 진영의 좌우 두 갈래로 양분되게 된 것이다.
(P4-65-도덕-19)

이미 다 아는 바와 같이, 공산주의자들은 북한을 가리켜, 소위 ‘민주주의 인민 공화국’이라고 자칭하고 있다. (…) 북한 괴뢰는 다만 이와 같이, 괴뢰 집단의 이름만을 민주적으로 가장한 것이 아니다. 그 밖의 모든 형식을 민주주의같이 조작하고 있다.
(P4-65-도덕-102)

이리하여, 북한의 학교는 결국 공산주의 인간 양성소요, 청소년 작업장이요, 군사 훈련소인 것이다. 그리고, 그 어느 면에서나 성과가 좋지 못하면, 학교 당국은 물론, 노동당과 그 예비 조직이며 북한의 공산 청년 단체인 민주 청년 동맹(민청)으로부터 철저히 비판받고 추궁받는 것이다. 북한 학생들은, 그들의 귀중한 젊은 나날을 이렇게 괴롭고 서글프게 보내야 하는 것이다.
(P4-65-도덕-145)

자유 국가의 노동자들은, 자기들의 권익이 손상되거나 보수가 적당하지 않을 때에는, 노동조합을 통하여 자기들의 주장을 관철시키는 방도를 가지고 있다. 기업주와의 교섭을 통해서도 해결이 나지 않을 때에는 파업의 수단을 행사할 수 있는 권리를 가지고 있는 것이 자유 국가의 노동자들이다. 자유 국가는 노동자들의 파업을 법률로써 보장하고 있기 때문이다. 그러나, 북한에서는 노동자들의 파업을 법률로써 보장하기는 고사하고, 파업 행위는 반역으로 규정하고 있는 것이다.
(P5-65-도덕-126-7)

특히, 현재 우리 나라는 경제 개발을 서두르고 있어 막대한 투자 자금이 필요하지만, 국내 자본이 부족하여 많은 외국의 자본을 빌어 쓰고 있다. 그럼에도 불구하고 우리 국민의 소비 성향이 높아 저축률이 비교적 낮은 수준에 있어 경제 개발을 촉진하기 위해서는 저축의 증대가 가장 중요한 과제의 하나로 되고 있다.
(E1-75-사회3-119)

국민 학교 6학년 때 아버지가 사다 주신 책(집 없는 천사)이다. 경희는 너무나 재미가 있어, 밤을 새워 가며 그 소설을 단번에 읽었던 기억이 있다. 주인공 루미가 얼마나 불쌍했는지, 그러면서도 어떤 역경에도 굴하지 않고 용기를 가지고 얼마나 굿굿이 살아가던지. 경희는 눈물을 흘리기도 하고 손뼉을 치기도 하며 읽었었다.
(E1-75-도덕-76)

현재 우리는 자본주의 제도 밑에서 경제 생활을 하고 있다. 이러한 자본주의 경제는 18세기 후반에 영국에서 먼저 성립하여 유럽·미국 등 세계각국에 보급되었다. 자본주의 경제는 경제 활동의 자유를 보장함으로써 생산력을 크게 향상시키고, 우리의 경제 생활을 눈부시게 발전시켜 왔다.
(E2-75-사회3-137)

【연구과제】
1. 자본주의 경제는 어떠한 특징을 가졌으며, 그 장점과 단점은 어떤 것인지 연구해 보자.
2. 사회주의 경제의 특징을 알아 보고, 그 이론과 실제 사이에는 어떠한 모순점이 있는지 연구해 보자.
3. 오늘날 세계 여러 나라에서는 자본주의 경제의 단점을 시정하기 위하여 어떠한 대책을 실시하고 있는 지 연구해 보자.

(E2-75-사회3-137-8)

지금 이러한 가난에서 벗어나기 위하여 개펄과 놀고 있는 땅을 개간하고, 경지 정리 및 지하수 개발과 아울러 양잠, 가축 기르기, 과일과 특용작물 재배 등의 부업을 일으켜, 농어촌 소득을 보다 올리어 잘 살아 보려고 온갖 노력을 기울이고 있다.
(E3-75-사회1-5)

그러던 것이 1970년 '농어민들의 잘 살아 보려는 의욕과 자조적인 노력을 불러 일으키도록' 한 박 대통령의 유시를 계기로 하여 거국적인 국민 운동으로 전개하게 되었다.
(E3-75-사회3-251-2)

이와 같은 일들은 대개 농가의 힘만으로는 되기 어려운 것이 많기 때문에 무엇보다도 농민들 자신의 협력에 의한 자조 사업이 필요하다.
(E3-75-사회3-247)

농업생산: 농업을 주축으로 하는 제1차 산업의 총생산량은 1970년의 경우 국민 총 생산의 28% 정도로 되어 있다. 이는 농업의 절대 생산량이 줄어든 탓이 아니라, 공업 생산량의 급증으로 상대적인 감소를 나타내고 있기 때문이다. 따라서, 국가 경제 전체로 볼 때는 오히려 기뻐해야 할 문제라 하겠다.
(E3-75-사회3-243-4)

오랜 역사를 지닌 우리 나라의 촌락은 대부분 계획 없이 이루어졌기 때문에 가옥의 배열이 무질서하고 마을 안의 도로도 좁고 또 불규칙하며, 초가가 대부분을 차지했었다. 그러나,

최근 추진 중인 새마을 사업에 의하여 초가는 기와 및 슬레이트 등으로 바뀌어 지고, 마을 안의 도로도 잘 정비되어 차량의 왕래가 자유롭게 되었다. 이리하여 토지 이용이 점차 높아져 가고 물자의 유통이 원활해져서 농어민의 소득이 늘어가고 있으며, 바야흐로 우리 나라 농어촌은 근대화되어 가고 있다.
(E3-75-사회1-127)

한편, 농촌은 정치·경제·문화적인 면에서 뒤떨어지고 있으며, 생활 욕망을 충족시켜 줄만한 여러 가지 기능 집단이 부족하고, 인구 증가에 따라 경작지의 영세화 경향을 나타내고 있다. 여기에서 농민이 도시를 향하여 이주하게 되는 이른바 이농현상이 나타나게 되고, 그 결과 도시 인구의 과잉 상태를 낳게 한다.
(E3-75-사회3-239-40)

또 이기간에 철강 공업, 기계 공업, 조선 공업, 석유 화학 공업 등 중화학 공업이 본격적으로 건설됨으로써 현재의 경공업 중심의 공업 구조는 1980년대 초에는 중공업 중심으로 바뀌게 될 것이다.
(E4-75-사회3-169-70)

대기업은 많은 자본을 가지고 대규모의 기계·설비를 갖추어 상품을 대량으로 생산함으로써 생산비가 절약되고, 또 원료를 한꺼번에 대량으로 구입하므로 싸게 살 수 있고, 은행으로부터 자금을 쉽게 빌어 쓸 수도 있다. 이에 대하여 중소 기업은 불리한 조건이 많기 때문에 경쟁에서 뒤떨어져서 도산하거나 대기업에 흡수 합병되는 일이 흔히 있다.
(E4-75-사회3-103)

자원과 국민성: 그러나 부존 자원을 남만큼 못 가진 나라들이 이를 풍부하게 가진 나라들보다 월등히 잘 사는 예가 얼마든지 있다. 이것으로 인간의 슬기와 노력과 끈기가 부존 자원이나 환경보다 더 큰 자원이라는 것을 알 수 있다.
(E4-75-사회1-233)

첫째, 우리 나라의 공업 구조는 아직도 경공업, 즉 소비재 공업이 중심이 되고 있어, 기계 등 생산 시설의 대부분을 수입에 의존하고 있다. 따라서 경제 발전을 촉진하기 위해서는 생산재 공업의 중심인 중화학 공업이 시급히 건설되어야 한다. 제3차 5개년 계획은 그 중점 목표의 하나를 중화학 공업의 건설에 두고 있으며, 현재 제철·조선·기계·전자·석유 화학 공업 등이 진행되고 있다. 둘째, 노동자 1인당의 생산성이 선진 제국에 비하여 크게 뒤떨어지고 있다. 공업의 생산성을 높이고 공업을 더욱 발전시키기 위해서는 기업 규모의 확대, 설비의 근대화, 경영의 합리화, 기술의 향상, 그리고 우리 나라 기업의 대부분을 차지하는 중소 기업의 육성 등에 더욱 노력하여야 할 것이다.
(E4-75--사회3-160-1)

2. 해외로 뻗는 우리의 힘

"어쩌면 이렇게 예쁠까?"

노미는 흰 옷을 입고 흰 장갑을 끼고 흰 모자를 쓰고 있는 인형을 바라 보며 감탄하고 있었다. 회사일로 홍콩을 다녀 오신 아저씨로부터 선물로 받은 것이었다.

"저 선과 빛깔을 보시요, 얼마나 아름답고 우아한가. 예술적 가치가 있는 상품이어요."

옆에서 보고 계시던 어머니의 말씀이었다.

"인형을 만든 사람도 인형을 닮았을거야. 이렇게 푸르고 맑은 눈과 금빛 부드러운 머리를 가졌을거야."

인형에 취한 듯 노미가 중얼거렸다.

"글쎄, 그럴까?"

아저씨의 말에 노미는 무슨 뜻인지 몰라 아저씨 얼굴을 쳐다 보니, 웃고 계셨다. 함께 웃고 계시던 어머님께서 말씀하셨다.

"상표를 찾아 보렴. 이젠 중학생이니까 영어도 읽을 수 있겠지?"

"어머나, 이건……."

노미는 놀랐다. 그것은 우리 나라 제품이었던 것이다.

아저씨께서는

"바로 그거다. 노미는 좀 전에, 눈이 푸르고 머리가 금빛인 사람이 만들었을 거라고 했지?"

노미는 부끄러웠다. 국제 도시 홍콩에서 제일 가는 인형이니까 외국산일거라고 가볍게 믿어 버렸던 자신의 태도는 얼마나 잘못된 것이었는가? 그러나, 훨씬 기쁘기도 했다. 우리의 것이 제일이다! 노미는 부끄러워 얼굴을 숙이고 있었지만, 무언가가 마음 가득히 차오르는 것을 느꼈다. 텔레비전이나 영화 뉴우스를 통해, 우리가 외국 여러 나라들과 운동 경기를 하여 이기고 있는 모습을 보았을 때나, 또 베트남 하늘에 나부끼는 태극기를 보았을 때와 같은 마음이었다. 얼마나 떳떳하고 자랑스러운 일인가? 노미는 그것이 너무 기뻐서, 부끄러웠던 것도 금방 잊고 아저씨를 쳐다 보았다. 아저씨는 웃고 계셨다. 좀 전과 같은 웃음이 아니라 노미 마음처럼 환한 웃음이었다.

"그런데 이상하네요. 우리 나라에서도 사도 될텐데, 왜 그 먼 데서 사 오셨어요?"

아저씨는 포장지를 가리키며,

"우리 나라에서 살 수 있는 가격의 몇 배는 지불했어. 하지만, 노미에게 외국 포장지에 싸인 우리 물건을 선물하고 싶었던 거야. 아무리 비싼 값을 치러도 좋다고 생각했지."

노미는 가만히 고개를 끄덕였다. 듣고 계시던 어머니께서 말씀하셨다.

"우리 상품이 가는 곳은 홍콩뿐이 아닐텐데, 수출 대상국으로는 어떤 나라가 있나요?"

"공산 세력권을 제외하면 거의 다여요. 아프리카, 아시아 여러 나라들을 비롯해서 영국, 미국, 서독에까지 우리 상품이 다량 수출되고 있답니다."

"그러면 아저씨, 인형 외엔 어떤 물건들이 수출되고 있나요?"

"그 많은 종류를 어떻게 일일이 들겠니? 다랑어, 합판 등에서부터 피복, 신, 그리고 라디오와 같은 전자 제품, 그 외에 기계류 등 여러 가지가 있지. 수출 상품의 종류만 다양해 지는 것이 아니라, 수출 액수도 늘어 가고 있다. 그뿐 아니다. 우리 나라 여러 기술자들도 외국에 나가 뛰어난 실력을 보이고 있다. 비록 작은 나라에 살고 있기는 하지만, 우리 민족은 남보다 뛰어난 슬기와 힘을 가지고 있다. 신념과 긍지를 가지고 마음을 모아 노력하면, 우리의 힘은 널리 뻗어 갈 것이다."

아저씨의 말씀을 듣고 있는 노미의 마음은 자랑스러움으로 가득 찼다.

【연구】

1. 수출 증대는 결과적으로 우리에게 두 가지 이익을 가져다 주는데, 그것은 무엇인가?
2. 국가에서 80년대에 100억 달러 수출을 강력히 추진하는 이유를 서로 토론해 보자.

(E4-75-도덕-128-31)

수출 대상국도 100여 개국으로 늘어나 이제 우리의 수출은 전 세계에 미치게 되었지만, 최근 미국과 일본에의 수출이 전체의 약 3분의 2를 차지하고 있다.

(E5-75-사회3-162)

우리 나라는 그동안 수입이 수출보다 많아 무역 수지는 적자를 계속해 왔는데, 이 적자는 미국의 원조와 외국으로부터의 차관에 의해서 메워 왔다.

(E5-75-사회3-165)

우리 나라의 세출에서는 국방비, 경제 개발을 위한 재정투융자 등이 큰 비중을 차지하고 있

다. 이것은 정부가 특히 국방과 경제 개발을 위하여 힘쓰고 있음을 나타내는 것이다.
(E6-75-사회3-134)

고용과 근로 문제는 근로자에게도 중요하지만, 국가 사회적으로도 매우 중요한 문제이기 때문에, 국가에서는 고용자를 늘리는 한편, 근로 조건을 개선하여 근로자를 보호하는 데 크게 힘쓰고 있다.
(E6-75-사회3-194)

우리 나라 세출에서는 국방비, 경제 개발을 위한 재정투융자 등이 큰 비중을 차지하고 있다. 이것은 정부가 특히 국방과 경제 개발을 위하여 힘쓰고 있음을 나타내는 것이다.
(E6-75-사회3-134)

사회주의 국가에서는 모든 경제 활동은 국가의 계획과 관리로 운영되기 때문에 민간 기업이란 있을 수 없고, 모든 사람이 반노예적인 노동자가 되어버리고 있다.
(E6-75-사회3-141)

자본주의 경제의 장점을 살리면서 단점을 없애기 위하여 오늘날 국가는 국민 경제에 적극적으로 개입하여 소득의 격차를 줄이기 위한 정책, 경기 조절, 경제 계획 등을 실시하고 있기 때문에 현대 자본주의를 수정 자본주의라고 한다.
(E6-75-사회3-144)

환경 보호 대책: 대기 오염 물질을 가장 많이 배출하는 곳은 공장, 발전소와 교통 기관 등이다. 그러므로, 정부에서는 공장의 매연, 폐수 처리에 대하여 특별한 규제를 하는 한편, 도시 주변의 공장 건설을 억제하고 중화학 공업 지역을 해안 지대에 설치하는 등 근본적인 대책을 강구하고 있다. 또한, 정부에서는 우리나라의 자연환경을 사전에 보존하기 위하여 여러가지 방법을 강구하는 동시에, 이를 실천에 옮기고 있다. 그 중에서도 도시 주변에 녹지대를 설정하여 맑은 공기와 자연 풍치를 조성하며, 고속도로 주변 500m 이내의 환경도 알뜰하게 보존하는 방향으로 나아가고 있다. 전국적으로는 치산 10개년 계획을 세워 앞으로는 전 국토를 푸르게 가꿀 예정이다. 그뿐더러 정부에서는 환경 문제를 연구하는 학교, 연구소, 예방 기관 등을 설치하여 앞날의 환경 보전에 주력할 태세를 갖추고 있다.
(E7-75-사회3-237)

그리고, 도심으로부터 15-20 km 부근에 개발 제한 구역을 두어 지나친 인구 집중과 공해 및 도시의 무질서한 팽창을 막고 있다.
(E7-75-사회1-26)

불규칙한 경지는 잘 정돈되어 재해를 모르는 전천후 농토로 변해가고 헐벗은 산은 푸르러가며, 하천에는 홍수와 가뭄을 막고 물과 전기를 대어주는 다목적 댐이 건설되어가고 있다.
(E7-75-사회1-96)

이들 화력 발전소는 연료로 무연탄도 일부 쓰고 있으나, 대부분은 유류에 의하여 가동되고 있다. 부산 근처에 건립 중인 원자력 발전소가 준공되는 날, 우리 나라 동력원의 근대화가 기대 된다.
(E7-75-사회1-111)

오늘은 한식이다. 돌아가신 부모님 생각이 간절하다. 자식을 위하여 평생을 바치신 부모님. 그 은혜를 생각하면 불효했던 자신이 민망스럽다.

(SC1-75-도덕-9)

항상 조용하기만 하던 수남이네 집 댓돌 위에 오랫만에 여러 켤레의 신들이 놓였다. 각기 흩어져 있던 가족들이 할머니 생신을 맞아 한 자리에 모인 것이다. 할머니, 아버지, 어머니, 수남이의 네 식구외에, 읍내에 나가 고등학교를 다녀 이제 졸업반이 된 수희 누나와, 대학에 진학하라는 부모님들의 권유를 마다하고 산으로 들어갔던 수철이 형, 이렇게 여섯 식구가 모두 모이게 된 것이다.
(SC1-75-도덕-86)

이런 경우, 이미 창조된 문화는 항상 우세한 곳에서 그렇지 못한 곳으로 전파되기 마련인데, 예를 들면 도시의 생활 양식이 농촌으로, 선진 국가의 문화가 후진 국가로 전파되는 현상이 그것이다.
(SC1-75-사회3-208)

오늘은 일 년 중 제일 즐거운 날입니다. 이 곳 시내에 살고 있는 여러 친척들과 아버지의 친구분들이 오셔서, 송편을 잡수시며 고향 이야기를 하셨습니다. 나는 어른들이 서로 주고받으시는 이야기를 듣느라고 송편을 먹는 것도 잊어버리고 있었습니다.
(SC1-75-도덕-120)

그러나, 매스 커뮤니케이션은 수많은 대중에게 한결같은 영향을 주는 것이기 때문에, 자칫하면 인간들을 어떤 한 방향으로 이끌어가 버릴 우려가 있다.
(SC2-75-사회3-178)

직업은 자기 능력에 맞는 것이어야 하는데, 그 직업이 요구하는 능력, 예를 들어 외국어에 능해야 한다든가, 수리적 계산이 빨라야 한다든가 하는 등 조건에 자기 능력이 부합되어야 하는 것이다.
(SC2-75-사회3-185)

경희는 아버지가 보고 싶었다. 아버지가 살아 계셨을 때에는 어머니가 저렇게 고생을 하지 않으셔도 되었고, 또 경희는 아버지, 어머니의 사랑을 독차지하며 행복하게 지냈었다. 집안은 언제나 밝고 청결했으며, 평화롭고 생기가 넘쳐 있었다. 그러나, 지금은 어머니께서 새벽부터 장사를 나가셔야만 되기 때문에 집안을 돌볼 시간이 없어, 집 안은 어둡고 생기를 잃은 듯 쓸쓸하기만 했다.
(SC2-75-도덕-74)

1973년에 와서는 국민 복지 연금법이 다시 제정되었는데, 거기에는 공무원, 군인 뿐 아니라 모든 근로자에게 고루 혜택이 가도록 되어 있다.
(SC3-75-사회3-192)

이와 같은 사회보장 제도를 더욱 잘 실시해 나가기 위해서는 많은 재원이 필요한데, 그 재원은 주로 국민들의 세금으로부터 나온다는 사실을 알아야 한다. 그러므로 사회보장제도는 국민 경제의 향상, 전국민의 납세의무 이행으로 더욱 확대 발전해 갈 수 있는 것이다.
(SC3-75-사회3-193)

2. 여성과 남성의 경우 앞으로의 직업 생활은 어떻게 달라져야 하는지에 대하여 토론해 보자.
(SC4-75-사회3-184)

높은 출생률의 억제를 위해서는 개인이나 국민 전체의 행복과 경제 부담을 고려하여 계획적으로 출생을 억제하는 데에서 이루어진다. 특히, 우리 나라의 경우 남아와 여아의 출생에 차별을 두지 않는 생각이 앞서야 한다.
(SC4-75-사회3-225)

또, 우리의 농어촌은 선진국에 비하여 농경지가 좁기도 하지만 농업 방법이 뒤떨어지고, 부업도 발달하지 못하여 농가의 수입이 적어 가난을 면하지 못하였다. 한편, 도시에는 인구가 날로 증가하여 주택, 교통, 공해 등 여러 가지 문제가 생기고 있다.
(SC5-75-사회1-14)

수도권은 우리 나라의 정치, 경제, 사회, 문화의 중심지인 서울을 중심으로 발달한 지역이다. 서울에서 여러 갈래의 철도와 고속 도로, 도로, 항공로와 통신망이 사방으로 뻗고, 서울에는 여러 관공서와 경제 기관, 문화 기관, 외교 기관이 모여 있어, 마치 우리 나라의 두뇌와 같은 곳이다.
(SC5-75-사회1-24)

알래스카의 에스키모 해표, 물개 등을 사냥하며 살아 왔던 에스키모들은 근래 미국 정부의 지원을 받아 순록 사육, 석유 개발로 생활이 개화되어 가고 있다.
(SC6-75-사회1-217)

(…) 1973년 중동 전쟁 이후 국제적인 석유 파동이 심각해지자 일본이 아랍 국가들과의 석유 거래에 유리한 조건을 얻기 위해서 대 이스라엘 정책을 바꾸었던 (…)
(SC6-75-사회3-258)

국가가 없는 민족은 부모가 없는 고아보다도 더 불쌍한 존재이며, 그 민족은 하나의 민족으로서 존재할 수도 없고 발전할 수도 없는 것이다.
(P1-75-사회3-8)

그러므로, 공산주의 치하에 있는 사람들은 인간된 대접을 받지 못하는 생활이 강요되기 마련이고 숨마저 크게 쉴 수 없는 압제 밑에서 신음하고 있다.
(P1-75-사회3-61)

한국적 바탕 위에 기초도 없이 받아들였던 서구적 정치, 경제, 문화 들은 여러 가지 모순과 허점을 내포하고 있어, 나라의 발전과 번영에 장애가 될 때가 많았다. 그래서, 10월 유신을 단행하게 되었고, 10월 유신에 의해 비로소 전면 개선되었다.
(P1-75-도덕-161)

이와 같은 선거는 정치에 민의를 반영한다는 본뜻과는 달리, 막대한 정력과 경비를 헛되이 낭비했을 뿐 아니라, 능률적인 행정을 가로막고 때로는 위험할 정도로 국론을 분열시켜 정치의 안정을 잃게 하였다.
(P1-75-사회3-42)

먼저 제 3장은 통일 주체 국민 회의에 관한 규정이다. 통일 주체 국민 회의는 우리 나라 헌법상의 통치 기구 중 가장 높은 위치에 있고, 또 우리 나라 특유의 기구이다.
(P1-75-사회3-48)

격동하는 내외 정세에 능동적으로 대처하고 국내 결속을 강화하기 위해서 (…) 국민 투표에 붙여 헌법을 폭 넓게 개정하였다. 유신 헌법이라고 부르는 현행 헌법이 그것이다.
(P1-75-사회3-47)

그러나, 현대 국가는 국민의 복리를 증진시키기 위해서 많은 일을 해야 하며, 그러기 위해서는 강화된 행정권이 필요하게 되었다. 그러므로 현대에 있어서 권력 분립제는 예전만큼 중요한 뜻을 지니지 못한다.
(P1-75-사회3-29)

정당은 정치적으로 뜻을 같이 하는 사람들이 모인 집단으로서 정권을 잡는 것을 직접의 목적으로 하는 단체이다. 일반적으로 정당은 집권을 위해서 국회에 많은 의석을 획득하도록 힘쓴다. 그러기 위해서 정당은 자당의 주장이나 이상을 널리 국민에게 알리고 많은 찬동을 얻으려 노력한다.
(P1-75-사회3-31)

그러므로, 우리 나라는 분단된 조국의 통일도 평화적으로 달성하려 하고 있다. 우리는 안으로 국력을 배양하고 국방력을 강화하여 무력 침략을 받지 않도록 하고, 밖으로는 민주 우방과 손을 잡고 그 유대를 공고히 하면서 발전 번영하여야 한다.
(P1-75-사회3-66)

국민은 저마다 맡은 임무에 충실하면서 직접 간접으로 국가에 공헌하도록 노력해야 할 것이다. 군인은 일선에서, 기술자는 생산 공장에서, 학생은 학원에서, 이렇게 자기가 맡은 일에 충실하면 그것이 바로 애국의 길이 되는 것이다.
(P2-75-도덕-111)

2. 중학생으로서 10월 유신 사업 추진에 참여할 수 있는 일을 생각해 보자.
(P2-75-도덕-17)

국토를 통일하여 단일 민족 국가를 이룩하는 일은 정치적으로 보나, 경제적으로 보나, 또는 인도적으로 보나, 우리 민족의 지상 목표이다. 이를 위하여 박 정희 대통령은 1970년 8. 15 선언을 통하여 북한에 대해 무력 도발을 중지하고, 개발과 건설의 경쟁에 나설 것을 촉구하였다. 이로써, 4반세기에 걸친 남북 절연 상태에 종지부를 찍었다.
(P2-75-사회3-261-2)

또한, 우리 겨레의 염원이 깃들여 있는 애국가를 엄숙한 마음으로 부르고, 국가 원수에 대하여 정중한 예의를 표하는 일은, 문화 민족으로서 당연한 도리라 하겠다.
(P2-75-도덕-57)

나는 남몰래, 널빤지와 못을 얻어 가지고 조그마한 나무 상자를 만들어 그 속에 태극기를 고이고이 접어서 넣은 후 장롱 속에 깊숙이 간직하였다. 기회 있을 때마다 장롱 속을 엿보던 나의 가슴에는 항상 뜨거운 조국에의 그리움이 용솟음쳤다.
(P2-75-도덕-105)

우리 조상들 가운데에는 역사적으로 위대한 인물들이 수없이 많으나, 그 중에서도 이 순신 장군은 가장 뛰어난 분의 하나로, 임진왜란의 국난을 막아 낸 성웅이다. (…) 이 순신 장군은 충성과 용맹, 정의와 광명, 그리고 공명 정대한 성격에 큰 덕을 갖춘, 우리 민족의 큰 이상이요, 민족의 상징이라고 할 만한 분이다. (…) 1598년 12월 16일, 노량 해전에서, 도

망치는 적을 추적하여 200여 척을 격침한 다음, 적의 탄환에 맞아 장렬한 전사를 하였다.
(P2-75-도덕-113-7)

또한, 우리 나라의 주변에는 중공이나 소련 및 일본과 같은 강대한 국가들이 그들의 이익을 추구하기 위해서 노력하고 있다. 이와 같은 환경 속에서 우리 나라가 민족을 보위하고 민주주의를 지켜나가기 위해서는 어떠한 사태에 처하더라도 이를 능히 극복할 수 있는 준비와 태세를 항상 갖추고 있어야만 한다. 국력의 배양과 배양된 국력의 조직화가 시급하게 요청되는 이유도 여기에 있으며, 우리가 유신 헌법을 제정하여 국가의 총력을 집결할 수 있는 제도를 마련한 이유도 바로 여기에 있다.
(P3-75-사회3-39)

공산주의자들과의 대화에 있어서는 무엇보다도 국력과 단결된 국가 사회 체제의 배경이 필요하고, 그럼으로써 비로소 통일에 주도적이고 능동적인 역할을 할 수 있게 되는 것이다. 이러한 시점에서 국론이 분열되고 건설이 중단되는 일이 있으면, 이는 곧 공산주의자들에게 우리의 허점을 드러내는 것이어서 통일 과업의 실질적인 진척은 기대할 수 없다.
(P3-75-사회3-45)

통일 주체 국민 회의는 우리 나라 통치 조직상 가장 특색 있는 기관으로서 조국을 평화적으로 통일하기 위한 조직이다.
(P3-75-사회3-51)

자유 민주주의 제도하의 자유스러운 분위기 속에서 개성의 신장을 도모하여 자유롭게 학교생활을 하고 있는 우리들의 생활과, 북한 공산 치하에서 자유를 속박당하고 있는 북한 학생들의 생활과는 비교할 수도 없을 정도이다.
(P4-75-도덕-172)

이들이 이 곳 산골짜기로 쫓겨 온 지도 2년이 흘렀다. 늙은 어머니는 이 곳으로 오던 해 겨울에 추위와 굶주림에 못 이겨 돌아가시고 말았다. 손발에 피가 나도록 밭을 일구어 겨우 연명해 나갔다. 그러나,금년에는 그것마저도 전부 빼앗아 갔다. 심지어는 뒤 울안에 심은 고구마 몇 포기까지도 다 빼앗아 가는 형편이었다. (…) 그가 정신을 차렸을 때, 자신이 국군의 야전 병원 침대 위에 누워 있는 것을 깨달았다. 그가 다리에 큰 상처를 입고 38도선 남쪽 보초선 앞에 쓰러진 것을 국군이 구출하여 치료해 준 것이다. 그는 한없는 감격의 눈물을 흘렸다.
(P4-75-도덕-168-171)

[6] 국민의 권리와 의무
자유권 (…) 이러한 자유권은 그 어느 하나도 소홀히 취급할 수 있는 것은 없으나, 그 중에서도 특히 민주 정치와 관련해서 중요한 것으로서는 신체의 자유와 언론, 출판, 집회, 결사의 자유라 할 수 있다.
수익권
참정권 민주 국가에 있어서는 국민이 국가의 주인이다. 주권자로서의 국민이 국가의 운영에 참여하는 권리가 참정권인데 참정권에는 선거권, 공무 담임권 및 국민 투표권 등이 있다.
(P5-75-사회3-49-50)

[학습 정리]
6) 우리 나라의 헌법에는 국민의 기본권이 잘 보장되어 있고, 국민 생활의 보장에 대하여도 구체적으로 규정되어 있다.

(P5-75-사회3-57)

첫째, **자유에 대한 잘못된 해석**이다. 민주주의가 자유를 존중한다 하여, 자유가 본인들의 노력과 희생 없이 거저 얻어지는 것이라고 잘못 생각하고, 무책임하게 남을 비방한다든지 또는 개인의 이익만을 생각하여 행동한다든지 하여 자유를 무책임, 방종, 무질서로 착각한 사람들이 많았다.
(P5-75-사회3-41)

계획성 있는 생활에는 내가 쓰는 용돈을 얼마나 규모있게 쓰느냐 하는 것도 포함된다. 한정된 돈을 유익하게 쓰기 위해서는 미리 계획을 세워 둘 필요가 있다. 우리가 일상적으로 쓰는 물자를 아껴서 필요한 곳에만 쓰는 것도 중요하다. 이 밖에 주말을 어떻게 보낼 것인가 하고 미리 계획을 세우는 것도 시간을 잘 활용하는 것이다. 또, 늘 하는 공부와 시험 준비도 계획을 세워서 하면, 주어진 시간을 효과적으로 이용할 수 있다.
(E1-84-도덕-35)

또 사치스런 생활, 낭비하는 생활을 하지 말고, 소득의 범위 내에서 절약하는 소비 생활을 해야 할 것이다. 그렇게 할 때, 건전한 소비가 이루어지는 건전한 사회를 이룩할 수 있다.
(E1-84-사회1-240)

일상 생활 용품을 얻기 위하여 아버지와 어머니는 일을 하여 돈을 번다. 돈을 벌기 위하여 직업을 선택할 때에도 경제 원칙이 적용된다고 볼 수 있다. 손재주가 있는 사람은 생산직에, 사무를 잘 보는 사람은 사무직에 종사함으로써, 그리고 자본과 경영 능력이 있는 사람은 회사를 운영함으로써 돈을 번다. 이처럼 자기 적성에 맞는 직업을 선택하여 자기의 능력을 최대로 발휘하는 것이 경제 원칙에 맞는 생활이 된다.
(E1-84-사회1-216)

〈생각해 볼 문제〉
1. 자본주의 경제 제도의 특징은 무엇인가?
2. 사회주의 경제 제도의 비능률적인 점은 무엇인가?
3. 자본주의 경제 제도에서는 그 단점을 어떻게 고쳐 가고 있는가?
(E2-84-사회1-256)

이처럼 재산의 개인 소유가 인정되고 경제 활동의 자유가 보장되므로, 누구나 의욕을 가지고 열심히 일하게 되며, 시장에서의 경쟁을 통하여 생산 요소를 효율적으로 이용하게 된다. 따라서, 이 제도는 각자의 능력을 최대한으로 발휘하게 하고, 기술을 발달시키며, 생산력을 높이는 장점을 가지고 있다.
(E2-84-사회1-258)

북한 공산당은 주민들에게 절약해야 한다고 말한다. 그러나, 북한에서는 모든 재산이 개인의 것이 아니므로 북한 주민들은 물자를 아끼고 사랑하는 마음이 별로 없다.
(E2-84-도덕-62-3)

흔히, 기업가가 이윤을 얻으려고 한다면 나쁜 것으로 생각하기 쉽다. 또, 기업가 자신도 자기가 이윤을 얻으려 한다는 것을 겉으로 나타내기를 꺼리는 경우가 있다. 그러나, 기업가가 이윤을 얻으려는 것을 나쁘게 보아서는 아니 된다. 왜냐 하면, 기업가는 정당한 방법으로 이윤을 얻으면서 동시에 사회에 대해서 이바지할 수 있기 때문이다.
(E2-84-사회1-253)

시장에는 쌀 등의 재화가 거래되는 시장 뿐만 아니라, 사람의 노동과 같은 생산 요소가 거래되는 시장도 있다. 노동 시장에서는 노동을 공급하려는 노동자와 노동을 수요하려는 기업가 사이에서 이루어진다. 그 결과, 노동의 가격인 임금도 수요 공급의 법칙에 따라 결정됨으로써 근로자의 소득이 결정된다. 그러므로, 소득 분배 문제도 시장을 통하여 해결된다고 볼 수 있다.
(E2-84-사회1-230)

그러나, 1970년대 중반, 농가의 1인당 소득이 도시 근로자의 소득과 비슷하게 되면서부터 도시와 농어촌 간의 생활 수준의 차이는 좁혀지게 되었다. 더구나, 새마을 운동의 환경 개선 사업으로 인하여 농어촌의 겉모습이 완전히 바뀌기 시작하자, 도시와 농어촌은 내적으로나 외적으로 균형을 이루기 시작하였다. 이처럼, 새마을 운동은 균형잡힌 사회 발전의 길을 열어 놓음으로써 궁극적으로 국민 총화에 크게 이바지하였다고 할 수 있다.
(E3-84-도덕-188)

현대 사회는 이미 공업화가 되어 있거나 아니면 공업화를 추구하고 있다. 그것은 공업화가 사회 발전의 가장 근본적인 힘이기 때문이다.
(E4-86-사회3-320)

세째, 폐쇄 정책으로 말미암아 선진국의 자본과 기술을 받아 들이는 데 많은 제약이 뒤따르기 때문에, 기술이 낙후되고 생산성이 뒤떨어져, 경제가 발전하지 못하고 있다. 이렇게 북한 공산 집단이 폐쇄 사회 체재를 유지하는 한 선진국의 자본과 기술을 받아 들이기 어려울 것이며, 북한 경제는 침체에서 벗어나지 못할 것이다.
(E5-84-도덕-263)

무역정책: 우리 나라도 원칙적으로 자유 무역을 지지하고 있다. 그러나, 국제 경쟁력이 약한 재화에 대해서는 일정 기간 동안 유치 산업 보호 조치를 취하고, 그 뒤 국제 경쟁력이 높아지면 자유 무역 정책을 취하고 있다. 보호의 방법으로 관세 외에 수입 금지등의 조치를 취하기도 한다. 일부 산업에 대해서는 유치 산업 보호의 측면에서가 아니라, 안보 등 비경제적 이유로 보호 무역 조치를 취하기도 한다.
(E5-86-사회3-290)

세째, 해외 의존성을 줄이는 일이다. 우리 나라 경제는 개발 계획 수립 이전에는 원조에 크게 의존하고, 그 이후에는 해외 수출과 차관에 크게 의존하는 등 해외 의존적인 특성을 가져 왔으며, 그 사정은 현재까지 지속되고 있다.
(E5-86-사회3-301)

특히, 우리 나라와 보완 관계에 있는 자원 보유 개발 도상국에 대해서는 현재 선진국의 전철을 밟지 말고, 신의에 바탕을 둔 우호적인 관계를 유지, 발전시키는 것이 특히 중요하다.
(E5-86-사회3-305)

둘째, 정부의 효율적인 지도를 들 수 있다. 무엇보다도 정부 지도자 자신이 우리 농어촌을 5천년래의 가난으로부터 해방시키겠다는 결심 아래 행정력을 동원하여 농민들을 자극시키고, 그들이 힘을 모을 수 있도록 격려하고 지도했다고 말할 수 있다.
(E6-84-도덕-181-2)

또, 근대화된 사회에서는 사람들의 요구는 더 커지고 참을성은 약해졌다. 국가의 힘은 강력해져 개인의 권리를 보호하거나 욕구를 충족시키는 일도 국가가 아니면 해결할 수 없다는 생각이 지배하게 되었다. 그 결과, 개인의 기본적인 욕구와 안정을 국가에서 전적으로 또는 대부분 책임을 지는 경향이 서구를 중심으로 나타나게 되었다. 즉, '요람에서 무덤까지' 개인의 복지를 국가에서 책임지는 복지 국가가 탄생하였다.
(E6-86-사회3-357)

혼합 경제 제도 아래서는 민간 경제 주체의 경제 활동에 대하여 정부가 적극적으로 개입하게 되는데, 정부는 소득 분배의 개선, 근로 조건의 개선, 소비자 보호, 사회 보장 제도의 실

시 등 주로 국민 후생과 관련되는 일에 적극적으로 관여한다. 또, 경제의 급속한 성장을 위하여 경제 개발 계획을 수립하고, 직접 투자에 참여하거나, 민간 기업에 투자 재원을 마련해 주기도 한다. 그러므로, 혼합 경제 제도 아래에서 정부는 많은 자금을 필요로 한다.
(E6-86-사회3-274-5)

그러므로, 근대화 과정에서 날로 심해져 가는 공해를 줄이기 위해서는 환경 오염과 관련된 사업체는 물론, 온국민이 환경 오염에 대한 올바른 인식을 가지고 오염 방지와 환경 보전에 힘을 기울여야 한다.
(E7-84-사회1-338)

인간이 자연을 무질서하게 개발, 이용하면 자연은 파괴되어 다시 회복하기가 어렵게된다. 그러므로, 자연을 파괴하지 않고 잘 보호하면서 계획적인 개발을 해 나가면 환경 보전과 생활 개선 등의 목적을 함께 이룰 수 있을 것이다.
(E7-84-사회1-336-7)

부모에게 효도할 수 있는 기회는 언제나 있는 것이 아니다. 우리는 부모와 떨어져서 살아야 하는 때가 많고, 대개의 경우, 부모는 우리보다 먼저 세상을 떠나신다. 그러므로, 우리는 부모가 살아 계실 때 효도하도록 노력하여야 할 것이다.
(SC1-84-도덕-78)

그러므로, 개인의 입장에서는 항상 집단의 목표가 무엇인지를 알고, 자기의 행동이 집단의 목표와 조화를 이루도록 노력해야 한다.
(SC2-84-사회1-16)

사회 구조는 사회를 구성하는 개인이나 집단들의 상호 작용의 결과로 나타나는 것이지만, 일단 형성된 사회 구조는 개인 생활에 영향을 주게 된다. 예를 들어, 우리 사회에서 부모와 자녀 사이에 어떤 관계가 이루어지면, 우리 사회의 모든 부모와 자녀들은 그에 따라 행동하도록 영향을 받는다.
(SC2-84-사회1-19)

< 주요 활동 >
1. 학급에서 반장의 지위와 역할은 어떤 것인지 토의해 보자.
2. 우리들이 속해있는 집단들에는 각기 어떠한 규범들이 있으며, 그것을 어겼을 때에는 어떤 제재가 가해지는지 발표해 보자.
(SC2-84-사회1-16)

특히, 노동에 대한 소득 분배, 즉 임금의 결정은 매우 중요하다. 그러므로, 근로자측에서는 노동 조합을 만들어 근로 조건과 임금의 개선을 위해 노력하고 있다. 정부 역시 이 문제를 중요하게 생각해서 근로자와 기업가 사이에 적절한 타협이 이루어지도록 노력하는데, 이것은 분배 문제가 그만큼 중요하기 때문이다.
(SC3-84-사회1-252)

근대화가 진행되면서 보다 더 많은 사람들이 회사나 공장에서 일을 하게 되었다. 이에 따라 월급이나 임금을 받고 일을 하는 근로자와 그 근로자를 고용하고 있는 사용자 사이의 마찰, 즉 노사 분규는 중요한 근로 문제가 되고 있다.
(SC3-86-사회3-328)

그러나, 우리 나라의 사회보장 제도는 아직 미흡한 상태에 있다. 어려운 생활을 하고 있는 사람과 연금의 혜택이나 의료 혜택을 받지 못하는 사람들이 많다.
(SC3-86-사회3-361)

이와 같이 사용자와 근로자가 직업 윤리를 지키며, 서로 이해하고 아낄 때에 노사 간의 원만한 협조가 이루어지고, 기업은 발전하며, 국가 경제도 튼튼해진다.
(SC3-86-사회3-329)

3. 우리 집에서는 어떤 방법으로 저축을 하는지 어머니께 여쭈어 보자. 그리고, 그 방법에 대하여 평가해 보자.
(SC4-84-사회1-243)

오늘 아침에 막 학교에 가려고 하는데 어머니는 또 성화셨다. 책은 잘 챙겼는지? 옷은 단정하게 입었는지? 그리고, 숙제는 하였는지? 성가실 정도로 자상한 데까지 마음을 쓰셨다. 어머니의 이러한 행동이 때로는 못마땅하여 짜증이 날 때가 있다.
(SC4-84-도덕-69-70)

무지와 빈곤 속에 살면서도 이러한 가난을 딛고 일어서야 하겠다는 생각은 하지 못하였다. 이렇게 침체되어 있던 농어촌에 비하여 도시와 그 주변은 하루가 다르게 발전하고 있었으므로, 많은 사람들, 특히 일할 수 있는 젊은이들이 도회지로 앞을 다투어 빠져 나갔다.
(SC5-84-도덕-181-2)

교통이 불편하고 산업의 발달이 뒤떨어져 인구 밀도가 낮은 이 지방은 대구, 광주를 잇는 고속 도로가 개통되면 크게 발전할 수 있을 것으로 기대된다.
(SC5-84-사회1-106)

학습정리
2. 남동 연안 공업 지역은 우리 나라의 공업화 정책과 수출 정책에 힘입어 크게 발달하였다.
3. 호남 지방과 영남 지방은 소백 산맥이 교통의 장애가 되고, 역사적, 문화적 배경이 달라 생활 모습이 다르게 되었다.
(SC5-84-사회1-108)

세계 여러 나라의 정치 제도를 살펴보면, 민주 정치에도 여러 가지 형태가 있음을 알 수 있다. 영국에서는 의회를 중심으로 하는 정치 제도를 채택하였고, 미국에서는 대통령을 중심으로 하는 정치 제도를 채택하였으며 프랑스에서는 두 제도를 혼합한 제도를 채택하였다.
(SC6-86-사회3-186)

민주 사회는 모든 사람이 자유롭고, 또한 평등하도록 해 나가는 사회를 뜻한다.
(P1-84-도덕-109)

첫째, 북한 주민들은 일할 의욕을 잃고 있다. 아무리 열심히 일하여도 그 댓가가 직접 개인에게 돌아오는 것이 아니라, 일을 많이 한 사람이나, 적게 한 사람이나 별다른 차이 없이 공동 분배하게 됨으로써 일을 많이 할 의욕이 나지 않는다.
(P1-84-도덕-262)

정치 생활에 있어서 민주 정치는 가장 바람직한 통치 형태이다.
(P1-86-사회3-174)

그리하여, 의견의 차이와 이해 관계에서 오는 갈등을 정당이나 의회를 통해서 정해진 법적 절차에 따라 해결할 수 있었다. 그러므로, 민주 정치는 이와 같은 민주적 생활 태도와 조화의 능력이 없는 곳에서는 성장, 발전할 수 없다.
(P1-86-사회3-181)

국가의 권위란, 국가가 공공 질서를 유지하고, 여러 가지 문제를 해결하기 위하여 권한을 행사하는 것을 말한다. 민주 국가에 있어서 이러한 권위는 국민의 동의, 즉 법을 기초로 하여 이루어진다.
(P1-86-사회3-182)

그러므로, 헌법이 정한 원리와 원칙을 잘 따르며 지키는 것은 민주주의를 이 땅에 실현하는 가장 중요한 첫걸음이 된다.
(P2-86-사회3-222)

우리 나라에서도 국가 권력을 입법권, 행정권 및 사법권으로 나누어 이를 국회, 정부 및 법원이 맡도록 하고 있다. 그러나, 국회가 행정이나 사법에 간섭하는 경우도 있고, 정부가 입법이나 사법에 간섭하는 일도 있으며, 법원이 입법이나 행정에 간섭하는 경우도 있다.
(P1-86-사회3-178-9)

우리 나라의 국가 원수는 국민의 의사에 따라 뽑은 대통령이다. 대통령은 국내적으로 참으로 무거운 책임을 맡고 있는 분이다. 국민들이 안심하고 살 수 있도록 외적의 침입을 막는 일, 국가가 더욱 부강해지도록 국토를 개발하고 산업을 일으키는 일, 또 우리들이 공부할 수 있도록 학교를 세우고 운영하는 일 등 많고 어려운 책임을 맡아서 하는 분이다. 또, 국가 원수는 국제적으로 국가의 주권을 수호하고, 외교 활동에 있어서 그 나라를 대표하는 분이다.
(P2-84-도덕-153)

우리는 국기, 국가, 국가 원수에 대한 예절을 바르게 알고 이를 생활화하는 데 힘써야 하겠다. 이것이 곧 나라 사랑의 길이기 때문이다.
(P2-84-도덕-153)

우리의 조상들이 자기 자신의 행복이나 목숨보다 더 귀중하게 여겨 온 것, 우리가 국제 운동 경기를 듣거나 볼 때, 우리 모두를 한 덩어리로 묶고 있는 것, 그것이 바로 다름 아닌 우리의 나라, 곧 조국이다.
(P2-84-도덕-138)

우리 나라에서 1986년 아시아 경기 대회나 1988년 올림픽 대회와 같은 큰 국제적 행사를 개최하게 되었다는 것은 우리 나라가 여러 가지 면에서 그만큼 크게 발전하였다는 것을 의미한다.
(P2-84-사회1-34)

나라의 발전에 이바지하는 일은 먼 데 있는 것이 아니다. 나 개인과 국가와의 관계를 바로 이해하고, 자기 일을 스스로 처리하고, 그 책임을 스스로 질 줄 알며, 이웃이나 마을 사람과 잘 협동하며, 국토 방위의 의무를 성실히 이행하고, 세금을 잘 내며, 그리고 법을 잘 지키는 일이 바로 나라의 발전에 이바지하는 길이 된다.
(P2-86-사회3-251)

이제 우리는 당당한 주권 국가의 주인이며, 우리 국가는 곧 내 국가요, 우리 정부는 내 정부라는 것을 깊이 인식해야 하겠다. 따라서, 우리는 정부가 추진해 가는 경제 정책, 안보 정책, 복지 정책 등 여러가지 일에 적극 협조하고 봉사하는 자세를 취해 나가는 것이 주권 국가의 주인인 국민의 도리라는 것을 명심해야 한다.
(P2-86-사회3-251)

지금도 그들은 적화 통일의 야욕을 버리지 않고 틈만 있으면 우리 사회를 혼란시켜, 우리 민주 정치의 발전을 저해하려 하고 있다. 그러므로, 우리는 북한 공산주의 세력이 우리 사회를 넘보지 못하도록 철통 같은 방어 태세를 갖추는 한편, 민주주의를 지키기 위하여 힘을 합쳐 노력해야 한다.
(P3-84-사회1-161)

우리는 갈라진 조국을 평화적으로 통일하여 우리 민족의 발전과 번영을 이룩하기 위한 바탕을 마련해야 한다. 그러기 위해서, 우리는 다음과 같은 몇 가지 점에 노력해 나가야 하겠다. 첫째, 총력 안보의 태세를 갖추는 일이다. 이제까지의 경험에 비추어 볼 때, 북한 공산 집단은 우리가 안보 태세를 허술히 한다면 언제라도 남침을 해 올 것이 분명하다. 그러므로, 우리는 안보 태세를 튼튼히 갖추어 북한 공산 집단의 남침 야욕을 미리 막아야 한다.
둘째, 모든 국민이 잘 사는 번영된 민주 복지 국가를 건설하는 일이다. 모든 국민이 잘 사는 복지 국가가 이룩되어야 북한 공산 집단은 우리를 헐뜯거나 넘볼 수 없게 되기 때문이다.
셋째, 우리의 통일 정책을 계속 밀고 나가는 일이다. (…) 앞으로 시간이 흐르면 흐를수록 북한의 경제력은 우리보다 더욱 뒤떨어지게 될 것이다. 따라서, 북한이 우리의 제의를 받아들일 가능성은 날이 갈수록 높아지게 될 것이다.
(P3-84-사회1-166-167)

우리가 경제 성장에 힘입어 우리의 힘으로 군 장비를 현대화하고 방위 산업을 육성하는 등 자주 국방에 진력하게 되었음은 매우 다행한 일이다. 이러한 노력을 꾸준히 계속 할 때, 멀지 않아 자주 국방의 능력은 갖추어질 것이다.
(P3-84-도덕-201)

[주요 활동]
1. 통일은 왜 필요하며, 어떠한 원칙에 따라 이루어져야 하는지 알아보자.
2. 우리의 평화 통일 노력에 대해 북한은 현실적으로 실천이 불가능한 제안만을 거듭하는 이유가 무엇인지 토의해 보자.
(P3-84-사회1-167)

북한에서의 식량 사정은 매우 곤란한 형편이다. (…) 그리고, 친척집에 갈때도 반드시 양권을 가지고 가야 밥을 먹을 수 있다.
(P4-84-도덕-129-130)

이상과 같이, 8. 15 광복 이후 북한에서는 공산주의에 대한 항거가 그치지 않았으며, 오늘날 1인 독재 체제가 물샐 틈 없이 강화된 속에서도 반 김 일성 운동이 끈질기게 일어나고 있다는 사실을 주목할 필요가 있다.
(P4-84-도덕-256)

북한에도 얼른 보기에는 입법, 행정, 사법 기관 등이 있어 마치 삼권이 분립되어 있는 것 같으나, 사실은 모든 권력이 공산당에 집중되어 있다.

(P4-84-도덕-239)

우리 대한 민국은 나라의 주인인 국민들이 선거권을 행사함으로써, 훌륭한 통치자를 선택할 수 있는 참다운 민주주의 정치 제도를 가지고 있다. 우리는 이 민주 정치 제도의 우월성을 똑똑히 인식하고, 이를 잘 가꾸어 나가는데에 더욱 힘써야 한다. 그리고, 우리의 민주주의 제도를 북한 지역으로 전파시키기 위하여 꾸준히 노력하여야 할 것이다.
(P4-84-도덕-259)

김 일성은 북한의 정치, 경제, 사회, 문화 등 모든 것을 지배하는 신과 같은 존재가 되어 있다. 북한 공산주의자들의 김 일성에 대한 우상화는 여기에서 그치지 않는다. 그들은 그의 우상화를 해외에서까지 선전하여 전세계의 웃음거리가 되고 있다.
(P4-84-도덕-243-4)

[연구 문제]
1. 북한 공산 집단이 먼저 남침해 왔다는 증거를 들어보자.
3. 6. 25 남침 이후 북한 공산 집단이 우리를 적화하려고 어떤 술책을 쓰고 있는지 말해보자. (…)
4. 북한 공산 집단의 남침 음모에 대하여 우리가 가져야 할 태도를 토의해 보자.
(P4-84-도덕-238)

우선, 모든 재산이 개인의 것이 아니므로 아끼고 사랑하는 마음이 없다. 같은 물건을 생산하여도 원료를 아끼지 않고 낭비하는 버릇이 생겨나게 되었던 것이다.
(P4-84-도덕-270)

폐쇄 정책으로 말미암아 선진국의 자본과 기술을 받아들이는데 많은 제약이 뒤따르기 때문에, 기술이 낙후되고 생산성이 뒤떨어서, 경제가 발전하지 못하고 있다. (…) 공산당의 이른바 계획 경제는 오늘날 복잡한 경제 문제를 효율적으로 다룰 수 없으며, 경제의 침체를 막을 수 없다.
(P4-84-도덕-263)

이런 경제적 모순 속에서도 북한 공산 집단은 전쟁 준비를 하기 위해서 중공업 우선 정책을 쓰고 있다. 북한 공산 집단은 지금도 국민 총생산의 약 20% 이상을 군사비에 투입하고 있다. 이것은 전시 경제와 다름이 없는 것이다.
(P4-84-도덕-271)

현재 우리가 살고 있는 남한에는 민주 정부가 들어서, 사람들이 자유롭게 살면서 우리의 문화적 유산을 계승, 발전시켜 나가고 있다. 그러나, 공산주의자들에게 점령된 북한에서는, 사람들의 자유는 억압되고, 우리의 자랑스러운 유산은 파괴되었다. 따라서, 남북한이 갈라진 40여 년 동안, 우리 민족은 서로 화합하기 어려운 두 개의 문화를 가지게 되었다.
(P4-86-사회3-336)

인간은 누구나 세상에 태어나면서 부터 인간이 살아가는데 있어서 없어서는 안될 가장 기본이 되는 권리를 가진다. 즉, 국민이 국가내에서 가지는 타고난 권리를 인권 또는 기본권이라 한다.
(P5-86-사회3-235)

우리 헌법도 입헌주의의 원리에 따라 국민의 기본권을 보장하고 있다. 헌법 제 9조

는 "모든 국민은 인간으로서의 존엄과 가치를 가지며, 행복을 추구할 권리를 가진다. 국가는 개인이 가지는 불가침의 기본적 인권을 확인하고, 이를 보장할 의무를 진다."고 규정하고 있다. 나아가, 평등권, 자유권, 사회권, 청구권, 참정권 등을 보장하고 있다.
(P5-86-사회3-236)

(2) 기본권의 제한

국민의 자유와 권리는 최대한으로 존중, 보장되어야 한다. 그러나, 자유나 권리의 행사가 타인의 자유나 권리를 침해한다든지 사회 전체에 피해를 줄 때에도 존중받을 수 있는 것은 아니다. 그러므로, 불가피한 경우에는 이를 제한하지 않을 수 없다.
(P5-86-사회3-239)

저축을 위한 이러한 노력은 가계에 있어서만 중요한 것이 아니라, 기업의 생산 활동과 국민 경제의 성장, 발전에도 커다란 영향을 끼치게 된다. 즉, 가계의 저축을 토대로 한 자본으로 기업의 생산 활동을 뒷받침하지 못한다면, 그 나라의 경제는 활발하지 못할 것이다.
(E1-90-사회2-248)

근로 소득은 순전히 일한 데 대한 대가이지만, 사업 소득은 사업자 자신이 일한 대가는 물론, 사업에 투자한 자본, 경영 활동에 대한 창의적 기여, 위험 부담 등의 대가가 포함된다.
(E1-90-사회2-248-9)

따라서, 기업의 이윤은 생산에 제공된 생산 요소에 대하여 줄 것을 덜 준 소극적인 개념으로서가 아니라, 다른 경쟁 기업보다 더 적극적으로 노력한 대가라는 개념으로 이해해야 할 것이다.
(E1-90-사회2-264)

그러나 모든 기업이 이렇게 창조적이고 건전한 것은 아니다. 어떤 기업은 단기의 이익만을 추구하여, 생산 과정에서 나온 폐기물을 제대로 처리하지 않아 환경을 오염시키는가 하면, 다른 기업은 불량 상품을 만들어 팔아 이윤을 올리려 하기도 한다. 또 어떤 기업은 부동산 투기나 매점 매석 등으로 부당 이익을 꾀하기도 한다.
(E2-90-사회2-264-5)

사회주의 국가들은 스스로 근로자의 천국이라고 하고 있지만, 대부분의 근로자들은 아무리 열심히 일해도 자기에게 돌아오는 몫은 일정하기 때문에, 의욕을 상실하고 무기력과 나태에 **빠져 생산성이 낮은 상태**에 머물러 있다.
(E2-90-사회2-283-4)

자원 개발에는 해양에서의 석유 자원 탐사와 같이 오랜 시일, 많은 투자, 꾸준한 노력 및 창의력 등이 필요하다. 그리고 자원을 안정적으로 확보하기 위해 우리 나라가 해외에 직접 투자하여 개발하고 공급하는 것도 한 가지 방법이다.
(E4-91-사회3-144)

우리는 수출 주도형 공업화 과정에서 부족한 자본과 기술을 선진국에서 도입했다. (…) 한편, 기술에 있어서도 선진 기술을 적극적으로 도입했기 때문에 그만큼 경제 성장을 빠르게 이룩할 수 있었다.
(E5-91-사회3-70)

또 하나의 특징은, 1960년대 이후 가공 무역 방식을 추진함에 있어서 가공 생산에 필요한 기계류, 원자재류의 수입은 주로 일본에 의존하고, 가공된 제품의 수출은 주로 미국에 의존해 왔다는 점이다.
(E5-91-사회3-77)

무역 마찰에 대응하는 미국의 태도를 보면, 강력한 보호 무역주의 법률을 제정하여 우리 나라 상품이 미국에 수입되는 것을 억제하는 한편, 우리 나라 시장을 완전 개방하도록 강력히 요구하고 있다.
(E5-91-사회3-78)

이 때, 우리 나라 기업의 입장에서 특히 시장 개척에 힘을 기울여야 할 국가는 개발 도상국들이다.

(E5-91-사회3-79)

국내 시장을 한층 더 개방하도록 해야 할 것이다. 이 경우에도, 높은 수준의 기술을 필요로 하는 업종은 아직 경쟁력이 약하므로, 그러한 품목의 시장 개방은 신중을 기하도록 하고, 개방을 하더라도 이와 병행하여 이들 기업들의 국가 경쟁력을 강화해 가도록 해야 할 것이다.
(E5-91-사회3-80)

〈주요 활동〉
1. 우리 나라의 주요 가공 무역 상품에는 어떤 것이 있는지 조사해 보자.
2. 우리 나라의 대미 무역 수지는 1960년대 이후 어떻게 변화해 왔으며, 대일 무역 수지는 어떻게 변화해 왔는가를 조사해 보자.
(E5-91-사회3-80)

세계 10대 교역국으로 성장한 우리 나라는, 세계 각지에 상품을 수출할 뿐 아니라, 우리의 기술과 인력을 진출시켜 세계 각국과 협력하고 있다. 최근에는 중국, 소련과 동부 유럽의 공산국들과도 교역을 확대하고 합작 투자하는 등 교류와 협력 관계를 증대시키고 있다.
(E5-91-사회3-252)

우리 나라도 경제 수준이 향상됨에 따라 과거의 경제 개발 위주에서 점차 **교육, 주택, 의료**와 그 밖의 사회 간접 자본에 대한 정부 지출을 늘려왔으며, 1988년부터는 **국민 연금 제도**를 실시하고 있다. 그리고 정부의 경제 활동을 위한 자금 조달에 있어서는, 소득이 많은 사람에게는 높은 세율을 적용하고, 사치성 소비에는 **특별 소비세**를 부과하고 있다. 반면에, 저소득층의 경제 활동에 대해서는 면세하고 있다. 이와 같이, 정부는 국민의 소득 분배 개선과 모든 국민이 안정적인 생활을 할 수 있도록 **복지 재정**을 확대하고 있다.
(E6-91-사회3-53-4)

1970년대에 접어들면서 정부는, 그동안 수입해 오던 기계류, 원자재류도 국내에서 생산하기로 하고 수출 육성의 경우와 비슷한 지원 정책을 펴, 기업들에게 이러한 산업에의 투자를 유도하였다.
(E6-91-사회3-73)

요즈음에는 공장의 위치 결정에 있어서 정부의 역할이 커지고 있다. 정부는 다른 지역에 비해서 공업 발달이 뒤떨어진 지역에 새로운 공장을 많이 세우도록 지원하는 정책을 펴기도 한다. 즉, 새로운 공업 단지나 공업 도시 건설을 계획하여 교통, 상·하수도, 전기 등 공업 발달에 필요한 각종 시설을 해 줄 뿐만 아니라, 이 곳에 들어서는 기업에 대해서 세금 감면, 자금 융자 등을 해 주기도 한다. 반면에, 특정한 곳에 공장이 밀집해 있어 교통 혼잡, 환경 오염 등이 심하여 생활 환경이 나빠질 때에는 공장을 분산시키는 계획을 세워 추진하기도 한다.
(E6-91-사회3-153-4)

우리는 경제 발전 과정에서 발생한 빈부의 격차, 노사갈등, 대기업과 중소기업의 불균형, 환경오염 문제 등을 해결하고, 선진국과는 물론 개발 도상국과의 경제 협력 관계를 강화하여 고도 산업사회를 건설해 나가야 한다.
(E7-91-사회3-86)

자연 환경은 오염되었을 때 뿐만 아니라 파괴되거나 변형되었을 때에도 문제가 커진다. 에

를 들어, 삼림의 개간, 간석지의 간척, 댐의 건설 등은 우리에게 많은 이득을 주기도 하지만, 다른 한편으로 피해를 가져다 주기도 한다. 개간으로 삼림이 파괴되면, 홍수, 산사태, 토양 침식 등이 일어나기 쉽고, 산소의 공급원이 줄어든다. 간석지는 양식장으로 쓰이고, 그 곳에 밀려 온 물질을 분해하여 바다의 쓰레기 처리장 역할을 하기도 하는데, 간석지가 줄어들면 이런 기능과 생태계에 변화가 생긴다. 그리고 큰 댐을 건설하면 넓은 지역이 물에 잠기고, 안개가 많아지며, 기온이 내려가는 등 기상 변화가 나타나기도 한다. 산업 발달과 개발 사업은 우리의 경제 발전과 생활 수준 향상을 위해 필요한 것이지만, 자연 환경의 훼손을 최소화 하도록 세심한 주의를 기울여야 할 것이다.
(E7-91-사회3-187-8)

우리 나라는 공업화를 통한 경제 성장에 힘을 기울이는 동안 환경 문제를 소홀히 하여, 세계적으로 아름다운 자연 환경이 심하게 오염, 훼손되고 있다. 국민은 깨끗한 환경에서 생활할 권리가 있는 동시에, 환경 보전을 위하여 노력할 의무가 있다.
(E7-91-사회3-188)

2. 민수네는 아파트에 사는데, 잔치가 있어 오랫만에 많은 친척들이 모였다. 시간 가는 줄 모르고 음식을 나누어 먹고 이야기를 하며 노래를 부르기도 했다. 그런데 밤이 깊어지자 옆 집에서 항의 전화가 왔다. 시끄러워 잠을 잘 수가 없다는 것이었다. 이 말에, 시골에서 올라온 아저씨는 불평을 했다. 잔칫날 친척들이 함께 모여 즐겁게 노는 것은 조상 대대로 내려온 풍습인데 너무하다는 것이었다. 이런 경우, 우리는 어떤 판단을 내릴 수 있을까? 전통적인 관습의 좋은 점과 현대 도시 생활의 특성을 어떻게 조화시킬 수 있을까?
(SC1-89-도덕-96)

부모에게 효를 함에 있어서, 물질적인 봉양도 중요하나, 여기에는 반드시 정신적인 공경심과 정성이 밑받침되어야 한다는 것이다. 효를 행하는 핵심은 바로 여기에 있는 것이다.
(SC1-89-도덕-65)

한편, 개발 도상 국가의 사회 발전은 앞서 발전된 서구 사회를 닮아 가는 과정으로 생각하는 사람도 많다. 이러한 사람들은, 사회 발전을 서양의 근대 사회를 따라가는 것이라는 뜻에서 근대화와 같은 것으로 생각한다. 그러나 오늘날 대부분의 개발 도상국들은 과거 서양 사회와는 다른 전통과 역사를 가지고 있다. 그러므로 남의 나라에 의존하거나 남의 것을 모방하지 않고 자기의 전통을 살리면서 발전시키는 것이 진정한 사회 발전을 이룩하는 것이다.
(SC1-91-사회3-97)

외래 문화 수용: 우리의 전통 문화가 크게 변질된 것은 8.15 광복 후 실시한 새 교육에 본 따는 것이다. 서구식 민주주의의 확립을 표방한 우리 나라에서는 서구식 민주주의의 기초가 되는 개인의 인격 존중, 평등 사상, 박애 정신 등을 강조하는교육을 실시하였다. 개인 중심의 민주주의는 새 교육이 특히 강조한 것이었으며, 이것은 전통적인 가족 중심의 집단주의에 어긋나는 것이어서 서구 문화의 소화에 어려움이 있었다. 그러나 서구 문화는 산업 사회에 필요한 과학과 기술 발달의 산물이기 때문에, 이를 수용하기 위해서는 서구 문화를 이해하고 소화하기에 힘써야 했다. 특히 서구의 평등 사상, 민주 사상은 개인의 능력을 최대한으로 보장하는 사상이고, 서구 사상은 산업 사회에 필요한 능력 위주의 가치관을 가졌기 때문에, 우리는 서구 문화를 받아들이는 데 노력해 왔다.
(SC1-91-사회3-103)

제도는 그 사회의 모든 사람들의 관심이나 이익과 크게 관련이 있다. 따라서, 사회적으로 믿을 만한 제도를 가지고 있고, 또 그것이 공정하게 운영되고 있다는 것은, 신뢰할 수 있는

사회를 건설하는 데 있어 매우 중요한 요소가 된다.
(SC2-89-도덕-117)

다시 세월이 흐르면, 우리는 한 둘의 자녀를 낳아 기르게 될 것이고, 부모님들께서는 연세가 많이 들어 우리들의 도움을 필요로 하시게 될 것이다.
(SC2-89-도덕-5)

부모가 부모의 할 일을 하고, 자식이 자식의 할 일을 하며, 형이 형의 할 일을 하고, 아우가 아우의 할 일을 하며, 남편이 남편의 할 일을 하고, 아내가 아내의 할 일을 한다면 집안의 규범이 바로 서게 되고, 집안의 규범이 바로 서게 되면 천하가 안정되게 된다.
(SC2-89-도덕-9)

부모는 항상 자녀들을 따뜻하게 보살피고 바른 길로 이끌어 주며, 자녀들은 부모의 말을 잘 따르고 정성을 다해 부모를 공경할 때, 그 가정은 화목해지는 것이다.
(SC2-89-도덕-54)

학교는 어린이의 성장에 많은 영향을 주는 사회화 기관이다. 학교에서는 장차 그 사회에서 필요한 지식과 기술을 배우며, 동시에 그 사회에서의 바람직한 태도나 가치도 배우게 된다.
(SC2-90-사회2-292)

사람들은 서로 협동하면서 살아가지만, 갈등이나 경쟁도 있게 마련이다. 그러나 갈등이나 경쟁이 너무 심하면 원만한 사회 생활을 하기가 어렵게 된다.
(SC2-90-사회2-293)

가족 제도는 사회 구성원을 출생시키고 보호하는 기능을 한다. 종교 제도는 구성원들에게 삶의 의미를 알게 하고, 연대감을 가지게 하며, 마음의 평정을 얻도록 해 주는 기능을 한다. 교육 제도는 새로운 구성원을 사회에 적응시키고 새로운 지식을 만들어 내는 기능을 한다. 정치 제도는 구성원들 및 집단들 사이의 이해 관계를 조정하고, 사회적 목표를 정해서 이를 달성 하려는 구성원들의 노력을 모으고 행동을 규제하는 기능을 한다. 경제 제도는 물자의 생산, 교환, 분배 등의 기능을 한다.
(SC2-90-사회2-301-2)

본래, 사회 제도는 인간에 의하여 만들어진 것이다. 그리고 앞에서 본 바와 같이 그것은 개인에게 있어서나 사회에 있어서나 모두 중요한 기능을 한다. 그러나 사회 제도는 때로는 사람들의 행동을 지나치게 제한하는 경우가 있다.
(SC2-90-사회2-302)

특히, 신문, 라디오, 텔레비전과 같은 대중 매체가 발달되어 사람들은 자기가 직접 경험하지 못한 일을 마치 자기 일같이 느끼고 생각하게 되었다. 또, 대중 매체가 제공하는 정보를 비판 없이 받아들이기도 한다. 이러는 가운데 사람들은 자기도 모르게 다른 사람과 같이 생각을 하고, 같은 것을 좋아하며, 같은 물건을 쓰게 된다.
(SC2-91-사회3-92-93)

교육은 사람들이 가지고 있는 보이지 않는 능력을 계발시킨다. 교육을 받음으로써 사람들은 더 많은 일을 할 수 있을 뿐 아니라, 더 훌륭한 일을 할 수 있다.
(SC2-91-사회3-116)

사람은 각자의 능력, 근면성등의 차이로 말미암아 잘사는 사람도 있고, 못사는 사람도 있게 마련이다.
(SC3-91-사회3-50)

여섯째, 종래에는 기업이 지나치게 성장에만 열중하여 근로자들의 임금을 인상하거나 근로 환경을 개선 하는 등의 노력을 등한히 해왔다고 할 수 있다. 그래서 정치적 민주화와 더불어 근로자들의 욕구 불만이 분출되고 있으며, 이를 효율적으로 해결하지 못하여 오늘날 많은 **노사 분규**가 일어나고 있다. 따라서, 이제는 계속적인 성장을 위해서 기업가와 근로자가 진심으로 협력하는 직장 분위기를 만드는 데 보다 적극적인 노력을 기울이도록 해야 할 것이다.
(SC3-91-사회3-84)

그런데 한 사람이 한 가지의 지위만 가지고 있는 것이 아니라, 여러 가지 지위를 동시에 가지고 있는 경우가 많다. 가정을 가진 30대의 과장은, 회사에서는 과장이면서 동시에 가정에서는 남편이며 아버지이다. 교회에서는 신자이며, 취미를 위한 모임에서는 한 사람의 회원이다.
(SC4-90-사회2-298-299)

도시가 커지고 사람들을 고용하는 공장이나 일자리가 많이 생기면, 여러 지역 간이나 사람들 사이에 마찰이나 갈등이 생긴다. 이러한 마찰이나 갈등을 조정하고, 사람들이 편안하게 살면서 능률적으로 일하도록 하기 위해서는 새로운 조직이 필요하게 된다. 정부나 회사 등이 바로 이러한 조직의 대표적인 예이다.
(SC5-91-사회3-91)

이와 같이 **지역 감정**이나 **편견**은 전통 사회의 그릇된 유산이다. 우리 모두가 한 가지 말을 쓰는 하나의 민족으로 현재 일일 생활권에서 생활을 한다는 점을 생각하면, 아직도 지역 감정 때문에 우리 사회가 갈라진다는 것은 매우 부끄러운 일이 아닐 수 없다.
(SC5-91-사회3-110)

또 세계에는 우리와 같은 동양 문화와 우리가 받아들이려는 서구 문화만 있는 것이 아니다. 중동 지역엔 아랍 문화가 있고, 아프리카에는 흑인 문화가 있으며, 태평양에는 도서 해양 문화가 있는 등 **다양한 문화**가 있다.
(SC6-91-사회3-104)

사람은 각기 서로 다른 환경에서 태어나 생활하기 때문에, 능력이 다를 수 있고, 바라는 것도 다를 수 있다. 민주 정치는 사람들 사이의 이러한 차이를 인정하고, 각 개인이 자기의 능력을 최고로 발휘할 수 있도록 공평한 기회를 주고 있다.
(P1-90-사회2-173)

민주 정치는 주권이 **국민**에게 있고, 국민에 의하여 운영되며, 모든 국민이 행복한 생활을 누릴 수 있도록 하는 정치를 뜻한다.
(P1-90-사회2-176)

우리의 역사를 돌이켜보면, 우리 선조 중에는 자기 자신을 희생해 가면서 나라를 위해 살다간 훌륭한 분들이 수없이 많다. 우리의 국토를 침략하는 외적을 맞아 싸우다 장렬하게 전사한 분들이 있는가 하면, 나라를 잃었을 때에 조국의 광복을 위해 해외에서 애쓰다가 그 곳에서 일생을 마친 분들도 있다.

(P2-89-도덕-178)

국토 분단의 원인과 과정을 통해서 우리가 얻을 수 있는 교훈은 무엇인가? 첫째, 민족 내부의 문제를 해결하고자 할 때에는 어떤 경우가 되었든 외세에 의존하려 하거나 외세를 개입시키려 해서는 안 된다는 점이다.
(P2-89-도덕-222)

따라서, 국민이 대표를 뽑을 때에는, 국가를 위해서 봉사할 수 있는 훌륭한 사람에게 투표해야 한다.
(P2-90-사회2-194)

우리 나라는 그 동안 무역을 통한 경제 성장을 이룩하여 세계 각국과 밀접한 경제적 관계를 맺고 있고, 서울 올림픽 개최 이후 세계 대부분의 나라와 정치, 외교적 관계를 맺어 '**세계 속의 한국**'으로 크게 발전하고 있다.
(P2-91-사회3-252)

우리 민족이 반만 년 동안 살아 오고 있는 한반도는, 지정학적 위치 때문에 주변 강대국들의 이해 관계가 항상 날카롭게 대립하는 지역이다.
(P3-89-도덕-213-4)

이제 우리는, 경쟁 상대로서가 아니라, 더불어 살아가야 할 같은 민족으로서 북한과 우리가 함께 잘 살 수 있는 방법을 찾아가야 할 것이다.
(P3-89-도덕-241)

자주 국방을 위해서는 무엇보다 군사력과 이를 뒷받침할 만한 경제력이 있어야 한다. 아무리 막강한 군사력을 보유하고 있다 하더라도, 이것의 계속적 유지를 뒷받침해주는 경제력이 미약하다면 자주 국방의 태세를 완전히 갖추었다고 말할 수 없다.
(P3-89-도덕-224)

우리는 오랜 세월 동안 한 민족으로 살아오면서 많은 것을 함께 나누어 가졌다. 우리 민족의 밑바닥에서 면면히 전해져 내려오는 고유한 민족 감정과 생활 풍습, 사고 방식 등은, 우리가 난생 처음 만나도 '같다'는 느낌을 가지게 하기에 충분하다. 그렇기 때문에 민족의 이질화 현상에 의한 분단은 우리가 함께 살면서 조금만 관심과 애정을 기울이면 자연스럽게 극복될 수 있는 것이다.
(P3-89-도덕-258)

오늘날 우리의 국제 환경은, 미국과 같은 우방의 힘에 의존하던 냉전 시대와는 달리, 우리의 문제는 우리 스스로의 힘으로 해결해야 할 시대가 되어 가고 있다. 이에 우리는, 미국을 중심으로 한 여러 자유 우방과의 유대를 더욱 튼튼히 하면서 국력 배양에 노력하고 있다.
(P3-90-사회2-205)

[생각해 볼 문제]
3. 우리 정부는 평화통일을 위해 어떻게 노력하고 있는가?
(P3-91-사회3-27)

사실상 정당이 하나뿐인 북한에서의 선거는 아무런 의미가 없다. 왜냐 하면, 선거란 원래 정당이 여러개 있을 때에만 의미가 있는 제도이기 때문이다. 북한에서의 선거는 공산당 1당

독재 체재를 합리화 하기 위한 수단에 불과한 것이다.
(P4-89-도덕-232)

북한의 경제 체제는 국가가 개인의 모든 경제 활동을 계획하고 통제한다는 점에서, 경제 활동의 자율성을 중시하는 우리의 자유 경제 체제와는 다르다. 예컨대, 우리 나라의 농부는 자기가 일한 대가는 자기가 소유할 수 있기 때문에 온갖 정성과 노력을 기울여 수확량을 증대시키려 한다. 그러나, 북한의 농부는 아무리 열심히 일을 하여도 그 대가가 자기에게 돌아오지 않고 정해진 배급량만을 받기 때문에, 수확량을 증대시키려는 의욕을 가지기 어렵다. 생산물의 개인 소유가 인정되는 텃밭의 수확량이 같은 면적의 집단 농장 수확량에 비하여 월등히 높다는 한 가지 사실만 보더라도, 북한의 노동자들이 노동에 대한 의욕을 가지지 못하고 있음을 잘 알 수가 있다.
(P4-89-도덕-235-6)

예컨대, 우리는 학교 교육을 통해 청소년들에게 자유 민주주의의 이념을 가르치고 이에 입각한 규범과 생활 태도를 지키도록 해 왔다. 그리고 북한은 공산주의적 이념에 입각한 인간형을 기르기 위해 다양한 방법으로 노력해 왔다.
(P4-89-도덕-253-4)

인간의 다양한 권리는 궁극적으로 인간으로서의 존엄과 가치를 더욱 높이기 위한 것이다. 또, 인간으로서 스스로 확보해야 할 이러한 권리들은 나라가 있음으로 해서 보장 받을 수 있는 것이다. 그러나 무엇보다 중요한 것은 이러한 권리를 스스로 지키고 가꾸어 가려는 우리의 의지라고 하겠다.
(P5-89-도덕-171)

우리는 신문이나 텔레비전을 통해, 어떤 문제에 대해 서로 다른 입장을 취하거나 주장을 하는 것을 거의 매일 볼 수 있다. 근로 조건을 개선해 달라는 주장, 우리의 정치, 사회 현실에 불만을 가진 학생들의 시위, 외국의 통상 압력에 항의하는 집회, 소비자 단체의 운동 등이 그 예이다. 국민들은 각자의 입장에 따라 이런 문제에 대한 해결 방안을 생각하고, 여러 집단이나 언론 기관, 정당, 정부 기관들도 각각의 입장에 따른 견해를 가지고 서로 다른 주장을 하기도 한다. 민주주의 사회에서는 이러한 일들이 국민들의 참여를 통한 여론의 형성으로 해결되는 것을 바람직한 일로 여긴다. 그리고 어떤 문제에 대해 사람들이 서로 다른 입장을 지닐 수 있다는 것을 인정하고, 그것을 바탕으로 문제를 해결해 가려 한다.
(P5-91-사회3-23)